Theodore Roosevelt

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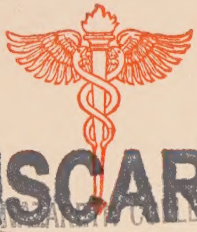
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES AND STATE PAPERS *and* EUROPEAN ADDRESSES

December 8, 1908, to June 7, 1910

BY

THEODORE ROOSEVELT



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MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS DECEMBER 8, 1908

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The financial standing of the Nation at the present time is excellent, and the financial management of the Nation's interests by the Government during the last seven years has shown the most satisfactory results. But our currency system is imperfect, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the Currency Commission will be able to propose a thoroughly good system which will do away with the existing defects.

During the period from July 1, 1901, to September 30, 1908, there was an increase in the amount of money in circulation of $902,991,399. The increase in the per capita during this period was $7.06. Within this time there were several occasions when it was necessary for the Treasury Department to come to the relief of the money market by purchases or redemptions of United States bonds; by increasing deposits in national banks; by stimulating additional issues of national bank notes, and by facilitating importations from abroad of gold. Our imperfect currency system has made these proceedings necessary, and they were effective until the monetary disturbance in the fall of 1907 immensely increased the difficulty of ordinary methods of relief. By the middle of November the available working balance in the Treasury had been reduced to approximately $5,000,000. Clearing house associations throughout the country had been obliged to

resort to the expedient of issuing clearing house certificates, to be used as money. In this emergency it was determined to invite subscriptions for $50,000,000 Panama Canal bonds, and $100,000,000 three per cent certificates of indebtedness authorized by the act of June 13, 1898. It was proposed to re-deposit in the national banks the proceeds of these issues, and to permit their use as a basis for additional circulating notes of national banks. The moral effect of this procedure was so great that it was necessary to issue only $24,631,980 of the Panama Canal bonds and $15,436,500 of the certificates of indebtedness.

During the period from July 1, 1901, to September 30, 1908, the balance between the net ordinary receipts and the net ordinary expenses of the Government showed a surplus in the four years 1902, 1903, 1906 and 1907, and a deficit in the years 1904, 1905, 1908 and a fractional part of the fiscal year 1909. The net result was a surplus of $99,283,413.54. The financial operations of the Government during this period, based upon these differences between receipts and expenditures, resulted in a net reduction of the interest-bearing debt of the United States from $987,141,040 to $897,253,990, notwithstanding that there had been two sales of Panama Canal bonds amounting in the aggregate to $54,631,980, and an issue of three per cent certificates of indebtedness under the act of June 13, 1898, amounting to $15,436,500. Refunding operations of the Treasury Department

under the act of March 14, 1900, resulted in the conversion into two per cent consols of 1930 of $200,309,400 bonds bearing higher rates of interest. A decrease of $8,687,956 in the annual interest charge resulted from these operations.

In short, during the seven years and three months there has been a net surplus of nearly one hundred millions of receipts over expenditures, a reduction of the interest-bearing debt by ninety millions, in spite of the extraordinary expense of the Panama Canal, and a saving of nearly nine millions on the annual interest charge. This is an exceedingly satisfactory showing, especially in view of the fact that during this period the Nation has never hesitated to undertake any expenditure that it regarded as necessary. There have been no new taxes and no increases of taxes; on the contrary some taxes have been taken off; there has been a reduction of taxation.

As regards the great corporations engaged in interstate business, and especially the railroads, I can only repeat what I have already again and again said in my messages to the Congress. I believe that under the interstate clause of the Constitution the United States has complete and paramount right to control all agencies of interstate commerce, and I believe that the National Government alone can exercise this right with wisdom and effectiveness so as both to secure justice from, and to do justice to, the great corporations which are the most important factors in modern business. I be-

lieve that it is worse than folly to attempt to prohibit all combinations as is done by the Sherman anti-trust law, because such a law can be enforced only imperfectly and unequally, and its enforcement works almost as much hardship as good. I strongly advocate that instead of an unwise effort to prohibit all combinations, there shall be substituted a law which shall expressly permit combinations which are in the interest of the public, but shall at the same time give to some agency of the National Government full power of control and supervision over them. One of the chief features of this control should be securing entire publicity in all matters which the public has a right to know, and furthermore, the power, not by judicial but by executive action, to prevent or put a stop to every form of improper favoritism or other wrongdoing.

The railways of the country should be put completely under the Interstate Commerce Commission and removed from the domain of the anti-trust law. The power of the Commission should be made thoroughgoing, so that it could exercise complete supervision and control over the issue of securities as well as over the raising and lowering of rates. As regards rates, at least, this power should be summary. The power to investigate the financial operations and accounts of the railways has been one of the most valuable features in recent legislation. Power to make combinations and traffic agreements should be explicitly conferred upon the railroads, the permission of the Commission being

first gained and the combination or agreement being published in all its details. In the interest of the public the representatives of the public should have complete power to see that the railroads do their duty by the public, and as a matter of course this power should also be exercised so as to see that no injustice is done to the railroads. The shareholders, the employees and the shippers all have interests that must be guarded. It is to the interest of all of them that no swindling stock speculation should be allowed, and that there should be no improper issuance of securities. The guiding intelligences necessary for the successful building and successful management of railroads should receive ample remuneration; but no man should be allowed to make money in connection with railroads out of fraudulent over-capitalization and kindred stock-gambling performances; there must be no defrauding of investors, oppression of the farmers and business men who ship freight, or callous disregard of the rights and needs of the employees. In addition to this the interests of the shareholders, of the employees, and of the shippers should all be guarded as against one another. To give any one of them undue and improper consideration is to do injustice to the others. Rates must be made as low as is compatible with giving proper returns to all the employees of the railroad, from the highest to the lowest, and proper returns to the shareholders; but they must not, for instance, be reduced in such fashion as to necessitate a cut in

the wages of the employees or the abolition of the proper and legitimate profits of honest shareholders.

Telegraph and telephone companies engaged in interstate business should be put under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

It is very earnestly to be wished that our people, through their representatives, should act in this matter. It is hard to say whether most damage to the country at large would come from entire failure on the part of the public to supervise and control the actions of the great corporations, or from the exercise of the necessary governmental power in a way which would do injustice and wrong to the corporations. Both the preachers of an unrestricted individualism, and the preachers of an oppression which would deny to able men of business the just reward of their initiative and business sagacity, are advocating policies that would be fraught with the gravest harm to the whole country. To permit every lawless capitalist, every law-defying corporation, to take any action, no matter how iniquitous, in the effort to secure an improper profit and to build up privilege, would be ruinous to the Republic and would mark the abandonment of the effort to secure in the industrial world the spirit of democratic fair-dealing. On the other hand, to attack these wrongs in that spirit of demagogy which can see wrong only when committed by the man of wealth, and is dumb and blind in the presence of wrong committed against men of property or by men of no property, is exactly as evil as corruptly to de-

fend the wrongdoing of men of wealth. The war we wage must be waged against misconduct, against wrongdoing wherever it is found; and we must stand heartily for the rights of every decent man, whether he be a man of great wealth or a man who earns his livelihood as a wage-worker or a tiller of the soil. It is to the interest of all of us that there should be a premium put upon individual initiative and individual capacity, and an ample reward for the great directing intelligence alone competent to manage the great business operations of today. It is well to keep in mind that exactly as the anarchist is the worst enemy of liberty and the reactionary the worst enemy of order, so the men who defend the rights of property have most to fear from the wrongdoers of great wealth, and the men who are championing popular rights have most to fear from the demagogues who in the name of popular rights would do wrong to and oppress honest business men, honest men of wealth; for the success of either type of wrongdoer necessarily invites a violent reaction against the cause the wrongdoer nominally upholds. In point of danger to the Nation there is nothing to choose between on the one hand the corruptionist, the bribe-giver, the bribe-taker, the man who employs his great talent to swindle his fellow-citizens on a large scale, and, on the other hand, the preacher of class hatred, the man who, whether from ignorance or from willingness to sacrifice his country to his ambition, persuades well-meaning but wrong-headed men to try to destroy the instruments

upon which our prosperity mainly rests. Let each group of men beware of and guard against the shortcomings to which that group is itself most liable. Too often we see the business community in a spirit of unhealthy class consciousness deplore the effort to hold to account under the law the wealthy men who in their management of great corporations, whether railroads, street railways, or other industrial enterprises, have behaved in a way that revolts the conscience of the plain, decent people. Such an attitude can not be condemned too severely, for men of property should recognize that they jeopardize the rights of property when they heartily fail to join in the effort to do away with the abuses of wealth. On the other hand, those who advocate proper control on behalf of the public, through the State, of these great corporations, and of the wealth engaged on a giant scale in business operations, must ever keep in mind that unless they do scrupulous justice to the corporation, unless they permit ample profit, and cordially encourage capable men of business so long as they act with honesty, they are striking at the root of our National well-being; for in the long run, under the mere pressure of material distress, the people as a whole would probably go back to the reign of an unrestricted individualism rather than submit to a control by the State so drastic and so foolish, conceived in a spirit of such unreasonable and narrow hostility to wealth, as to prevent business operations from being profitable, and therefore to

bring ruin upon the entire business community, and ultimately upon the entire body of citizens.

The opposition to Government control of these great corporations makes its most effective effort in the shape of an appeal to the old doctrine of States' rights. Of course there are many sincere men who now believe in unrestricted individualism in business, just as there were formerly many sincere men who believed in slavery—that is, in the unrestricted right of an individual to own another individual. These men do not by themselves have great weight, however. The effective fight against adequate Government control and supervision of individual, and especially of corporate, wealth engaged in interstate business is chiefly done under cover; and especially under cover of an appeal to States' rights. It is not at all infrequent to read in the same speech a denunciation of predatory wealth fostered by special privilege and defiant of both the public welfare and law of the land, and a denunciation of centralization in the Central Government of the power to deal with this centralized and organized wealth. Of course the policy set forth in such twin denunciations amounts to absolutely nothing, for the first half is nullified by the second half. The chief reason, among the many sound and compelling reasons, that led to the formation of the National Government, was the absolute need that the Union, and not the several States, should deal with interstate and foreign commerce; and the power to deal with interstate commerce was

granted absolutely and plenarily to the Central Government and was exercised completely as regards the only instruments of interstate commerce known in those days—the waterways, the highroads, as well as the partnerships of individuals who then conducted all of what business there was. Interstate commerce is now chiefly conducted by railroads; and the great corporation has supplanted the mass of small partnerships or individuals. The proposal to make the National Government supreme over, and therefore to give it complete control over, the railroads and other instruments of interstate commerce is merely a proposal to carry out to the letter one of the prime purposes, if not the prime purpose, for which the Constitution was founded. It does not represent centralization. It represents merely the acknowledgment of the patent fact that centralization has already come in business. If this irresponsible outside business power is to be controlled in the interest of the general public it can only be controlled in one way; by giving adequate power of control to the one sovereignty capable of exercising such power—the National Government. Forty or fifty separate state governments can not exercise that power over corporations doing business in most or all of them; first, because they absolutely lack the authority to deal with interstate business in any form; and second, because of the inevitable conflict of authority sure to arise in the effort to enforce different kinds of state regulation, often inconsistent with one another and sometimes

oppressive in themselves. Such divided authority can not regulate commerce with wisdom and effect. The Central Government is the only power which, without oppression, can nevertheless thoroughly and adequately control and supervise the large corporations. To abandon the effort for National control means to abandon the effort for all adequate control and yet to render likely continual bursts of action by State legislatures, which can not achieve the purpose sought for, but which can do a great deal of damage to the corporation without conferring any real benefit on the public.

I believe that the more far-sighted corporations are themselves coming to recognize the unwisdom of the violent hostility they have displayed during the last few years to regulation and control by the National Government of combinations engaged in interstate business. The truth is that we who believe in this movement of asserting and exercising a genuine control, in the public interest, over these great corporations have to contend against two sets of enemies, who, though nominally opposed to one another, are really allies in preventing a proper solution of the problem. There are, first, the big corporation men, and the extreme individualists among business men, who genuinely believe in utterly unregulated business—that is, in the reign of plutocracy; and, second, the men who, being blind to the economic movements of the day, believe in a movement of repression rather than of regulation of corporations, and who denounce both

the power of the railroads and the exercise of the Federal power which alone can really control the railroads. Those who believe in efficient National control, on the other hand, do not in the least object to combinations; do not in the least object to concentration in business administration. On the contrary, they favor both, with the all important proviso that there shall be such publicity about their workings, and such thorough-going control over them, as to insure their being in the interest, and not against the interest, of the general public. We do not object to the concentration of wealth and administration; but we do believe in the distribution of the wealth in profits to the real owners, and in securing to the public the full benefit of the concentrated administration. We believe that with concentration in administration there can come both the advantage of a larger ownership and of a more equitable distribution of profits, and at the same time a better service to the commonwealth. We believe that the administration should be for the benefit of the many; and that greed and rascality, practiced on a large scale, should be punished as relentlessly as if practiced on a small scale.

We do not for a moment believe that the problem will be solved by any short and easy method. The solution will come only by pressing various concurrent remedies. Some of these remedies must lie outside the domain of all government. Some must lie outside the domain of the Federal Government.

But there is legislation which the Federal Government alone can enact and which is absolutely vital in order to secure the attainment of our purpose. Many laws are needed. There should be regulation by the National Government of the great interstate corporations, including a simple method of account keeping, publicity, supervision of the issue of securities, abolition of rebates and of special privileges. There should be short time franchises for all corporations engaged in public business; including the corporations which get power from water rights. There should be National as well as State guardianship of mines and forests. The labor legislation hereinafter referred to should concurrently be enacted into law.

To accomplish this, means of course a certain increase in the use of—not the creation of—power, by the Central Government. The power already exists; it does not have to be created; the only question is whether it shall be used or left idle—and meanwhile the corporations over which the power ought to be exercised will not remain idle. Let those who object to this increase in the use of the only power available, the National power, be frank, and admit openly that they propose to abandon any effort to control the great business corporations and to exercise supervision over the accumulation and distribution of wealth; for such supervision and control can only come through this particular kind of increase of power. We no more believe in that empiricism which demands absolutely unrestrained

individualism than we do in that empiricism which clamors for a deadening socialism which would destroy all individual initiative and would ruin the country with a completeness that not even an unrestrained individualism itself could achieve. The danger to American democracy lies not in the least in the concentration of administrative power in responsible and accountable hands. It lies in having the power insufficiently concentrated, so that no one can be held responsible to the people for its use. Concentrated power is palpable, visible, responsible, easily reached, quickly held to account. Power scattered through many administrators, many legislators, many men who work behind and through legislators and administrators, is impalpable, is unseen, is irresponsible, cannot be reached, cannot be held to account. Democracy is in peril wherever the administration of political power is scattered among a variety of men who work in secret, whose very names are unknown to the common people. It is not in peril from any man who derives authority from the people, who exercises it in sight of the people, and who is from time to time compelled to give an account of its exercise to the people.

There are many matters affecting labor and the status of the wageworker to which I should like to draw your attention, but an exhaustive discussion of the problem in all its aspects is not now necessary. This administration is nearing its end; and, moreover, under our form of government the solution of the problem depends upon the action of the

States as much as upon the action of the Nation. Nevertheless, there are certain considerations which I wish to set before you, because I hope that our people will more and more keep them in mind. A blind and ignorant resistance to every effort for the reform of abuses and for the readjustment of society to modern industrial conditions represents not true conservatism but an incitement to the wildest radicalism; for wise radicalism and wise conservatism go hand in hand, one bent on progress, the other bent on seeing that no change is made unless in the right direction. I believe in a steady effort, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say in steady efforts in many different directions, to bring about a condition of affairs under which the men who work with hand or with brain, the laborers, the superintendents, the men who produce for the market and the men who find a market for the articles produced, shall own a far greater share than at present of the wealth they produce, and be enabled to invest it in the tools and instruments by which all work is carried on. As far as possible I hope to see a frank recognition of the advantages conferred by machinery, organization, and division of labor, accompanied by an effort to bring about a larger share in the ownership by wage-workers of railway, mill and factory. In farming, this simply means that we wish to see the farmer own his own land; we do not wish to see the farms so large that they become the property of absentee landlords who farm them by tenants, nor yet so small that the

farmer becomes like a European peasant. Again, the depositors in our savings banks now number over one-tenth of our entire population. These are all capitalists, who through the savings banks loan their money to the workers—that is, in many cases to themselves—to carry on their various industries. The more we increase their number, the more we introduce the principles of cooperation into our industry. Every increase in the number of small stockholders in corporations is a good thing, for the same reasons; and where the employees are the stockholders the result is particularly good. Very much of this movement must be outside of anything that can be accomplished by legislation; but legislation can do a good deal. Postal savings banks will make it easy for the poorest to keep their savings in absolute safety. The regulation of the National highways must be such that they shall serve all people with equal justice. Corporate finances must be supervised so as to make it far safer than at present for the man of small means to invest his money in stocks. There must be prohibition of child labor, diminution of woman labor, shortening of hours of all mechanical labor; stock watering should be prohibited, and stock gambling so far as is possible discouraged. There should be a progressive inheritance tax on large fortunes. Industrial education should be encouraged. As far as possible we should lighten the burden of taxation on the small man. We should put a premium upon thrift, hard work, and business energy; but these

quantities cease to be the main factors in accumulating a fortune long before that fortune reaches a point where it would be seriously affected by any inheritance tax such as I propose. It is eminently right that the Nation should fix the terms upon which the great fortunes are inherited. They rarely do good and they often do harm to those who inherit them in their entirety.

The above is the merest sketch, hardly even a sketch in outline, of the reforms for which we should work. But there is one matter with which the Congress should deal at this session. There should no longer be any paltering with the question of taking care of the wageworkers who, under our present industrial system, become killed, crippled, or worn out as part of the regular incidents of a given business. The majority of wageworkers must have their rights secured for them by State action; but the National Government should legislate in thoroughgoing and far-reaching fashion not only for all employees of the National Government, but for all persons engaged in interstate commerce. The object sought for could be achieved to a measurable degree, as far as those killed or crippled are concerned, by proper employers' liability laws. As far as concerns those who have been worn out, I call your attention to the fact that definite steps toward providing old-age pensions have been taken in many of our private industries. These may be indefinitely extended through voluntary association and contributory schemes, or through the agency

of savings banks, as under the recent Massachusetts plan. To strengthen these practical measures should be our immediate duty; it is not at present necessary to consider the larger and more general governmental schemes that most European governments have found themselves obliged to adopt.

Our present system, or rather no system, works dreadful wrong, and is of benefit to only one class of people—the lawyers. When a workman is injured what he needs is not an expensive and doubtful lawsuit, but the certainty of relief through immediate administrative action. The number of accidents which result in the death or crippling of wageworkers, in the Union at large, is simply appalling; in a very few years it runs up a total far in excess of the aggregate of the dead and wounded in any modern war. No academic theory about "freedom of contract" or "constitutional liberty to contract" should be permitted to interfere with this and similar movements. Progress in civilization has everywhere meant a limitation and regulation of contract. I call your especial attention to the bulletin of the Bureau of Labor which gives a statement of the methods of treating the unemployed in European countries, as this is a subject which in Germany, for instance, is treated in connection with making provision for worn out and crippled workmen.

Pending a thoroughgoing investigation and action there is certain legislation which should be en-

acted at once. The law, passed at the last session of the Congress, granting compensation to certain classes of employees of the Government, should be extended to include all employees of the Government and should be made more liberal in its terms. There is no good ground for the distinction made in the law between those engaged in hazardous occupations and those not so engaged. If a man is injured or killed in any line of work, it was hazardous in his case. Whether 1 per cent or 10 per cent of those following a given occupation actually suffer injury or death ought not to have any bearing on the question of their receiving compensation. It is a grim logic which says to an injured employee or to the dependents of one killed that he or they are entitled to no compensation because very few people other than he have been injured or killed in that occupation. Perhaps one of the most striking omissions in the law is that it does not embrace peace officers and others whose lives may be sacrificed in enforcing the laws of the United States. The terms of the act providing compensation should be made more liberal than in the present act. A year's compensation is not adequate for a wage-earner's family in the event of his death by accident in the course of his employment. And in the event of death occurring, say, ten or eleven months after the accident, the family would only receive as compensation the equivalent of one or two months' earnings. In this respect the generosity of the United States towards its employees compares most

unfavorably with that of every country in Europe—even the poorest.

The terms of the act are also a hardship in prohibiting payment in cases where the accident is in any way due to the negligence of the employee. It is inevitable that daily familiarity with danger will lead men to take chances that can be construed into negligence. So well is this recognized that in practically all countries in the civilized world, except the United States, only a great degree of negligence acts as a bar to securing compensation. Probably in no other respect is our legislation, both State and National, so far behind practically the entire civilized world as in the matter of liability and compensation for accidents in industry. It is humiliating that at European international congresses on accidents the United States should be singled out as the most belated among the nations in respect to employers' liability legislation. This Government is itself a large employer of labor, and in its dealings with its employees it should set a standard in this country which would place it on a par with the most progressive countries in Europe. The laws of the United States in this respect and the laws of European countries have been summarized in a recent Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, and no American who reads this summary can fail to be struck by the great contrast between our practices and theirs—a contrast not in any sense to our credit.

The Congress should without further delay pass

a model employers' liability law for the District of Columbia. The employers' liability act recently declared unconstitutional, on account of apparently including in its provisions employees engaged in intrastate commerce as well as those engaged in interstate commerce, has been held by the local courts to be still in effect so far as its provisions apply to the District of Columbia. There should be no ambiguity on this point. If there is any doubt on the subject, the law should be reenacted with special reference to the District of Columbia. This act, however, applies only to employees of common carriers. In all other occupations the liability law of the District is the old common law. The severity and injustice of the common law in this matter has been in some degree or another modified in the majority of our States, and the only jurisdiction under the exclusive control of the Congress should be ahead and not behind the States of the Union in this respect. A comprehensive employers' liability law should be passed for the District of Columbia.

I renew my recommendation made in a previous message that half-holidays be granted during summer to all wage-workers in Government employ.

I also renew my recommendation that the principle of the eight-hour day should as rapidly and as far as practicable be extended to the entire work being carried on by the Government; the present law should be amended to embrace contracts on those public works which the present wording of the act seems to exclude.

I most earnestly urge upon the Congress the duty of increasing the totally inadequate salaries now given to our Judges. On the whole there is no body of public servants who do as valuable work, nor whose moneyed reward is so inadequate compared to their work. Beginning with the Supreme Court the Judges should have their salaries doubled. It is not befitting the dignity of the Nation that its most honored public servants should be paid sums so small compared to what they would earn in private life that the performance of public service by them implies an exceedingly heavy pecuniary sacrifice.

It is earnestly to be desired that some method should be devised for doing away with the long delays which now obtain in the administration of justice, and which operate with peculiar severity against persons of small means, and favor only the very criminals whom it is most desirable to punish. These long delays in the final decisions of cases make in the aggregate a crying evil; and a remedy should be devised. Much of this intolerable delay is due to improper regard paid to technicalities which are a mere hindrance to justice. In some noted recent cases this over-regard for technicalities has resulted in a striking denial of justice, and flagrant wrong to the body politic.

At the last election certain leaders of organized labor made a violent and sweeping attack upon the entire judiciary of the country, an attack couched in such terms as to include the most upright, honest

and broad-minded judges, no less than those of narrower mind and more restricted outlook. It was the kind of attack admirably fitted to prevent any successful attempt to reform abuses of the judiciary, because it gave the champions of the unjust judge their eagerly desired opportunity to shift their ground into a championship of just judges who were unjustly assailed. Last year, before the House Committee on the Judiciary, these same labor leaders formulated their demands, specifying the bill that contained them, refusing all compromise, stating they wished the principle of that bill or nothing. They insisted on a provision that in a labor dispute no injunction should issue except to protect a property right, and specifically provided that the right to carry on business should not be construed as a property right; and in a second provision their bill made legal in a labor dispute any act or agreement by or between two or more persons that would not have been unlawful if done by a single person. In other words, this bill legalized blacklisting and boycotting in every form, legalizing, for instance, those forms of the secondary boycott which the anthracite coal strike commission so unreservedly condemned; while the right to carry on a business was explicitly taken out from under that protection which the law throws over property. The demand was made that there should be trial by jury in contempt cases, thereby most seriously impairing the authority of the courts. All this represented a course of policy which, if carried out, would mean

the enthronement of class privilege in its crudest and most brutal form, and the destruction of one of the most essential functions of the judiciary in all civilized lands.

The violence of the crusade for this legislation, and its complete failure, illustrate two truths which it is essential our people should learn. In the first place, they ought to teach the workingman, the laborer, the wage-worker, that by demanding what is improper and impossible he plays into the hands of his foes. Such a crude and vicious attack upon the courts, even if it were temporarily successful, would inevitably in the end cause a violent reaction and would band the great mass of citizens together, forcing them to stand by all the judges, competent and incompetent alike, rather than to see the wheels of justice stopped. A movement of this kind can ultimately result in nothing but damage to those in whose behalf it is nominally undertaken. This is a most healthy truth, which it is wise for all our people to learn. Any movement based on that class hatred which at times assumes the name of "class consciousness" is certain ultimately to fail, and if it temporarily succeeds, to do far-reaching damage, "class consciousness," where it is merely another name for the odious vice of class selfishness, is equally noxious whether in an employer's association or in a workingman's association. The movement in question was one in which the appeal was made to all workingmen to vote primarily, not as American citizens, but as individuals of a certain

class in society. Such an appeal in the first place revolts the more high-minded and far-sighted among the persons to whom it is addressed, and in the second place tends to arouse a strong antagonism among all other classes of citizens, whom it therefore tends to unite against the very organization on whose behalf it is issued. The result is therefore unfortunate from every standpoint. This healthy truth, by the way, will be learned by the socialists if they ever succeed in establishing in this country an important national party based on such class consciousness and selfish class interest.

The wage-workers, the workingmen, the laboring men of the country by the way in which they repudiated the effort to get them to cast their votes in response to an appeal to class hatred, have emphasized their sound patriotism and Americanism. The whole country has cause to feel pride in this attitude of sturdy independence, in this uncompromising insistence upon acting simply as good citizens, as good Americans, without regard to fancied—and improper—class interests. Such an attitude is an object-lesson in good citizenship to the entire nation.

But the extreme reactionaries, the persons who blind themselves to the wrongs now and then committed by the courts on laboring men, should also think seriously as to what such a movement as this portends. The judges who have shown themselves able and willing effectively to check the dishonest activity of the very rich man who works iniquity

by the mismanagement of corporations, who have shown themselves alert to do justice to the wage-worker, and sympathetic with the needs of the mass of our people, so that the dweller in the tenement houses, the man who practices a dangerous trade, the man who is crushed by excessive hours of labor, feel that their needs are understood by the courts —these judges are the real bulwark of the courts; these judges, the judges of the stamp of the President-elect, who have been fearless in opposing labor when it has gone wrong, but fearless also in holding to strict account corporations that work iniquity, and far-sighted in seeing that the workingman gets his rights, are the men of all others to whom we owe it that the appeal for such violent and mistaken legislation has fallen on deaf ears, that the agitation for its passage proved to be without substantial basis. The courts are jeopardized primarily by the action of these Federal and State judges who show inability or unwillingness to put a stop to the wrongdoing of very rich men under modern industrial conditions, and inability or unwillingness to give relief to men of small means or wage-workers who are crushed down by these modern industrial conditions; who, in other words, fail to understand and apply the needed remedies for the new wrongs produced by the new and highly complex social and industrial civilization which has grown up in the last half century.

The rapid changes in our social and industrial life which have attended this rapid growth have

made it necessary that, in applying to concrete cases the great rule of right laid down in our Constitution, there should be a full understanding and appreciation of the new conditions to which the rules are to be applied. What would have been an infringement upon liberty half a century ago may be the necessary safeguard of liberty to-day. What would have been an injury to property then may be necessary to the enjoyment of property now. Every judicial decision involves two terms—one, an interpretation of the law; the other, the understanding of the facts to which it is to be applied. The great mass of our judicial officers are, I believe, alive to these changes of conditions which so materially affect the performance of their judicial duties. Our judicial system is sound and effective at core, and it remains, and must ever be maintained, as the safeguard of those principles of liberty and justice which stand at the foundation of American institutions; for, as Burke finely said, when liberty and justice are separated, neither is safe. There are, however, some members of the judicial body who have lagged behind in their understanding of these great and vital changes in the body politic, whose minds have never been opened to the new applications of the old principles made necessary by the new conditions. Judges of this stamp do lasting harm by their decisions, because they convince poor men in need of protection that the courts of the land are profoundly ignorant of and out of sympathy with their needs, and profoundly indif-

ferent or hostile to any proposed remedy. To such men it seems a cruel mockery to have any court decide against them on the ground that it desires to preserve "liberty" in a purely technical form, by withholding liberty in any real and constructive sense. It is desirable that the legislative body should possess, and wherever necessary exercise, the power to determine whether in a given case employers and employees are not on an equal footing, so that the necessities of the latter compel them to submit to such exactions as to hours and conditions of labor as unduly to tax their strength; and only mischief can result when such determination is upset on the ground that there must be no "interference with the liberty to contract"—often a merely academic "liberty," the exercise of which is the negation of real liberty.

There are certain decisions by various courts which have been exceedingly detrimental to the rights of wage-workers. This is true of all the decisions that decide that men and women are, by the Constitution, "guaranteed their liberty" to contract to enter a dangerous occupation or to work an undesirable or improper number of hours, or to work in unhealthy surroundings; and therefore cannot recover damages when maimed in that occupation, and can not be forbidden to work what the legislature decides is an excessive number of hours, or to carry on the work under conditions which the legislature decides to be unhealthy. The most dangerous occupations are often the poorest paid and

those where the hours of work are longest; and in many cases those who go into them are driven by necessity so great that they have practically no alternative. Decisions such as those alluded to above nullify the legislative effort to protect the wage-workers who most need protection from those employers who take advantage of their grinding need. They halt or hamper the movement for securing better and more equitable conditions of labor. The talk about preserving to the misery-hunted beings who make contracts for such service their "liberty" to make them, is either to speak in a spirit of heartless irony or else to show an utter lack of knowledge of the conditions of life among the great masses of our fellow-countrymen, a lack which unfits a judge to do good service just as it would unfit any executive or legislative officer.

There is also, I think, ground for the belief that substantial injustice is often suffered by employees in consequence of the custom of courts issuing temporary injunctions without notice to them, and punishing them for contempt of court in instances where, as a matter of fact, they have no knowledge of any proceedings. Outside of organized labor there is a widespread feeling that this system often works great injustice to wage-workers when their efforts to better their working condition result in industrial disputes. A temporary injunction procured ex parte may as a matter of fact have all the effect of a permanent injunction in causing disaster to the wage-workers' side in such a dispute. Or-

ganized labor is chafing under the unjust restraint which comes from repeated resort to this plan of procedure. Its discontent has been unwisely expressed, and often improperly expressed, but there is a sound basis for it, and the orderly and law-abiding people of a community would be in a far stronger position for upholding the courts if the undoubtedly existing abuses could be provided against.

Such proposals as those mentioned above as advocated by the extreme labor leaders, contain the vital error of being class legislation of the most offensive kind, and even if enacted into law I believe that the law would rightly be held unconstitutional. Moreover, the labor people are themselves now beginning to invoke the use of the power of injunction. During the last ten years, and within my own knowledge, at least fifty injunctions have been obtained by labor unions in New York City alone, most of them being to protect the union label (a "property right"), but some being obtained for other reasons against employers. The power of injunction is a great equitable remedy, which should on no account be destroyed. But safeguards should be erected against its abuse. I believe that some such provisions as those I advocated a year ago for checking the abuse of the issuance of temporary injunctions should be adopted. In substance, provision should be made that no injunction or temporary restraining order issue otherwise than on notice, except where irreparable injury would other-

wise result; and in such case a hearing on the merits of the order should be had within a short fixed period, and, if not then continued after hearing, it should forthwith lapse. Decisions should be rendered immediately, and the chance of delay minimized in every way. Moreover, I believe that the procedure should be sharply defined, and the judge required minutely to state the particulars both of his action and of his reasons therefor, so that the Congress can if it desires examine and investigate the same.

The chief lawmakers in our country may be, and often are, the judges, because they are the final seat of authority. Every time they interpret contract, property, vested rights, due process of law, liberty, they necessarily enact into laws parts of a system of social philosophy; and as such interpretation is fundamental, they give direction to all law-making. The decisions of the courts on economic and social questions depend upon their economic and social philosophy; and for the peaceful progress of our people during the twentieth century we shall owe most to those judges who hold to a twentieth century economic and social philosophy and not to a long outgrown philosophy, which was itself the product of primitive economic conditions. Of course a judge's views on progressive social philosophy are entirely second in importance to his possession of a high and fine character; which means the possession of such elementary virtues as honesty, courage, and fairmindedness. The judge

who owes his election to pandering to demagogic sentiments or class hatreds and prejudices, and the judge who owes either his election or his appointment to the money or the favor of a great corporation, are alike unworthy to sit on the bench, are alike traitors to the people; and no profundity of legal learning, or correctness of abstract conviction on questions of public policy, can serve as an offset to such shortcomings. But it is also true that judges, like executives and legislators, should hold sound views on the questions of public policy which are of vital interest to the people.

The legislators and executives are chosen to represent the people in enacting and administering the laws. The judges are not chosen to represent the people in this sense. Their function is to interpret the laws. The legislators are responsible for the laws; the judges for the spirit in which they interpret and enforce the laws. We stand aloof from the reckless agitators who would make the judges mere pliant tools of popular prejudice and passion; and we stand aloof from those equally unwise partisans of reaction and privilege who deny the proposition that, inasmuch as judges are chosen to serve the interests of the whole people, they should strive to find out what those interests are, and, so far as they conscientiously can, should strive to give effect to popular conviction when deliberately and duly expressed by the law-making body. The courts are to be highly commended and staunchly upheld when they set their faces against wrongdoing or

tyranny by a majority; but they are to be blamed when they fail to recognize under a government like ours the deliberate judgment of the majority as to a matter of legitimate policy, when duly expressed by the legislature. Such lawfully expressed and deliberate judgment should be given effect by the courts, save in the extreme and exceptional cases where there has been a clear violation of a constitutional provision. Anything like frivolity or wantonness in upsetting such clearly taken governmental action is a grave offense against the Republic. To protest against tyranny, to protect minorities from oppression, to nullify an act committed in a spasm of popular fury, is to render a service to the Republic. But for the courts to arrogate to themselves functions which properly belong to the legislative bodies is all wrong, and in the end works mischief. The people should not be permitted to pardon evil and slipshod legislation on the theory that the court will set it right; they should be taught that the right way to get rid of a bad law is to have the legislature repeal it, and not to have the courts by ingenious hair-splitting nullify it. A law may be unwise and improper; but it should not for these reasons be declared unconstitutional by a strained interpretation, for the result of such action is to take away from the people at large their sense of responsibility and ultimately to destroy their capacity for orderly self-restraint and self-government. Under such a popular government as ours, founded on the theory that in the long run the will of the

people is supreme, the ultimate safety of the Nation can only rest in training and guiding the people so that what they will shall be right, and not in devising means to defeat their will by the technicalities of strained construction.

For many of the shortcomings of justice in our country our people as a whole are themselves to blame, and the judges and juries merely bear their share together with the public as a whole. It is discreditable to us as a people that there should be difficulty in convicting murderers, or in bringing to justice men who as public servants have been guilty of corruption, or who have profited by the corruption of public servants. The result is equally unfortunate, whether due to hair-splitting technicalities in the interpretation of law by judges, to sentimentality and class consciousness on the part of juries, or to hysteria and sensationalism in the daily press. For much of this failure of justice no responsibility whatever lies on rich men as such. We who make up the mass of the people can not shift the responsibility from our own shoulders. But there is an important part of the failure which has specially to do with inability to hold to proper account men of wealth who behave badly.

The chief breakdown is in dealing with the new relations that arise from the mutualism, the interdependence of our time. Every new social relation begets a new type of wrong-doing—of sin, to use an old-fashioned word—and many years always elapse before society is able to turn this sin into

crime which can be effectively punished at law. During the lifetime of the older men now alive the social relations have changed far more rapidly than in the preceding two centuries. The immense growth of corporations, of business done by associations, and the extreme strain and pressure of modern life, have produced conditions which render the public confused as to who its really dangerous foes are; and among the public servants who have not only shared this confusion, but by some of their acts have increased it, are certain judges. Marked inefficiency has been shown in dealing with corporations and in re-settling the proper attitude to be taken by the public not only towards corporations, but towards labor, and towards the social questions arising out of the factory system, and the enormous growth of our great cities.

The huge wealth that has been accumulated by a few individuals of recent years, in what has amounted to a social and industrial revolution, has been as regards some of these individuals made possible only by the improper use of the modern corporation. A certain type of modern corporation, with its officers and agents, its many issues of securities, and its constant consolidation with allied undertakings, finally becomes an instrument so complex as to contain a greater number of elements that, under various judicial decisions, lend themselves to fraud and oppression than any device yet evolved in the human brain. Corporations are necessary instruments of modern business. They

have been permitted to become a menace largely because the governmental representatives of the people have worked slowly in providing for adequate control over them.

The chief offender in any given case may be an executive, a legislature, or a judge. Every executive head who advises violent, instead of gradual, action, or who advocates ill-considered and sweeping measures of reform (especially if they are tainted with vindictiveness, and disregard for the rights of the minority) is particularly blameworthy. The several legislatures are responsible for the fact that our laws are often prepared with slovenly haste and lack of consideration. Moreover, they are often prepared, and still more frequently amended during passage, at the suggestion of the very parties against whom they are afterwards enforced. Our great clusters of corporations, huge trusts and fabulously wealthy multimillionaires, employ the very best lawyers they can obtain to pick flaws in these statutes after their passage; but they also employ a class of secret agents who seek, under the advice of experts, to render hostile legislation innocuous by making it unconstitutional, often through the insertion of what appear on their face to be drastic and sweeping provisions against the interests of the parties inspiring them; while the demagogues, the corrupt creatures who introduce blackmailing schemes to "strike" corporations, and all who demand extreme, and undesirably radical, measures, show themselves to be the worst enemies of the very

public whose loud-mouthed champions they profess to be. A very striking illustration of the consequences of carelessness in the preparation of a statute was the employers' liability law of 1906. In the cases arising under that law, four out of six courts of first instance held it unconstitutional; six out of nine justices of the Supreme Court held that its subject-matter was within the province of congressional action; and four of the nine justices held it valid. It was, however, adjudged unconstitutional by a bare majority of the court—five to four. It was surely a very slovenly piece of work to frame the legislation in such shape as to leave the question open at all.

Real damage has been done by the manifold and conflicting interpretations of the interstate commerce law. Control over the great corporations doing interstate business can be effective only if it is vested with full power in an administrative department, a branch of the Federal executive, carrying out a Federal law; it can never be effective if a divided responsibility is left in both the States and the Nation; it can never be effective if left in the hands of the courts to be decided by lawsuits.

The courts hold a place of peculiar and deserved sanctity under our form of government. Respect for the law is essential to the permanence of our institutions; and respect for the law is largely conditioned upon respect for the courts. It is an offence against the Republic to say anything which can weaken this respect, save for the gravest reason and

in the most carefully guarded manner. Our judges should be held in peculiar honor; and the duty of respectful and truthful comment and criticism, which should be binding when we speak of anybody, should be especially binding when we speak of them. On an average they stand above any other servants of the community, and the greatest judges have reached the high level held by those few greatest patriots whom the whole country delights to honor. But we must face the fact that there are wise and unwise judges, just as there are wise and unwise executives and legislators. When a president or a governor behaves improperly or unwisely, the remedy is easy, for his term is short; the same is true with the legislator, although not to the same degree, for he is one of many who belong to some given legislative body, and it is therefore less easy to fix his personal responsibility and hold him accountable therefor. With a judge, who, being human, is also likely to err, but whose tenure is for life, there is no similar way of holding him to responsibility. Under ordinary conditions the only forms of pressure to which he is in any way amenable are, public opinion, and the action of his fellow judges. It is the last which is most immediately effective, and to which we should look for the reform of abuses. Any remedy applied from without is fraught with risk. It is far better, from every standpoint, that the remedy should come from within. In no other nation in the world do the courts wield such vast and far-reaching power as

in the United States. All that is necessary is that the courts as a whole should exercise this power with the far-sighted wisdom already shown by those judges who scan the future while they act in the present. Let them exercise this great power not only honestly and bravely, but with wise insight into the needs and fixed purposes of the people, so that they may do justice, and work equity, so that they may protect all persons in their rights, and yet break down the barriers of privilege, which is the foe of right.

If there is any one duty which more than another we owe it to our children and our children's children to perform at once, it is to save the forests of this country, for they constitute the first and most important element in the conservation of the natural resources of the country. There are of course two kinds of natural resources. One is the kind which can only be used as part of a process of exhaustion; this is true of mines, natural oil and gas wells, and the like. The other, and of course ultimately by far the most important, includes the resources which can be improved in the process of wise use; the soil, the rivers, and the forests come under this head. Any really civilized nation will so use all of these three great national assets that the nation will have their benefit in the future. Just as a farmer, after all his life making his living from his farm, will, if he is an expert farmer, leave it as an asset of increased value to his son, so we should leave our national domain to our children, increased in value and not

worn out. There are small sections of our own country, in the East and in the West, in the Adirondacks, the White Mountains, and the Appalachians, and in the Rocky Mountains, where we can already see for ourselves the damage in the shape of permanent injury to the soil and the river systems which comes from reckless deforestation. It matters not whether this deforestation is due to the actual reckless cutting of timber, to the fires that inevitably follow such reckless cutting of timber, or to reckless and uncontrolled grazing, especially by the great migratory bands of sheep, the unchecked wandering of which over the country means destruction to forests and disaster to the small home makers, the settlers of limited means.

Short-sighted persons, or persons blinded to the future by desire to make money in every way out of the present, sometimes speak as if no great damage would be done by the reckless destruction of our forests. It is difficult to have patience with the arguments of these persons. Thanks to our own recklessness in the use of our splendid forests, we have already crossed the verge of a timber famine in this country, and no measures that we now take can, at least for many years, undo the mischief that has already been done. But we can prevent further mischief being done; and it would be in the highest degree reprehensible to let any consideration of temporary convenience or temporary cost interfere with such action, especially as regards the National

Forests which the nation can *now,* at this very moment, control.

All serious students of the question are aware of the great damage that has been done in the Mediterranean countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa by deforestation. The similar damage that has been done in Eastern Asia is less well known. A recent investigation into conditions in North China by Mr. Frank N. Meyer, of the Bureau of Plant Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture, has incidentally furnished in very striking fashion proof of the ruin that comes from reckless deforestation of mountains, and of the further fact that the damage once done may prove practically irreparable. So important are these investigations that I herewith attach as an appendix to my message certain photographs showing present conditions in China. They show in vivid fashion the appalling desolation, taking the shape of barren mountains and gravel and sand-covered plains, which immediately follows and depends upon the deforestation of the mountains. Not many centuries ago the country of northern China was one of the most fertile and beautiful spots in the entire world, and was heavily forested. We know this not only from the old Chinese records, but from the accounts given by the traveller Marco Polo. He, for instance, mentions that in visiting the provinces of Shansi and Shensi he observed many plantations of mulberry trees. Now there is hardly a single mulberry tree in either of these provinces, and the culture of the silkworm has moved farther

south, to regions of atmospheric moisture. As an illustration of the complete change in the rivers, we may take Polo's statement that a certain river, the Hun Ho, was so large and deep that merchants ascended it from the sea with heavily laden boats; to-day this river is simply a broad sandy bed, with shallow, rapid currents wandering hither and thither across it, absolutely unnavigable. But we do not have to depend upon written records. The dry wells, and the wells with water far below the former watermark, bear testimony to the good days of the past and the evil days of the present. Wherever the native vegetation has been allowed to remain, as, for instance, here and there around a sacred temple or imperial burying ground, there are still huge trees and tangled jungle, fragments of the glorious ancient forests. The thick, matted forest growth formerly covered the mountains to their summits. All natural factors favored this dense forest growth, and as long as it was permitted to exist, the plains at the foot of the mountains were among the most fertile on the globe, and the whole country was a garden. Not the slightest effort was made, however, to prevent the unchecked cutting of the trees, or to secure reforestation. Doubtless for many centuries the tree-cutting by the inhabitants of the mountains worked but slowly in bringing about the changes that have now come to pass; doubtless for generations the inroads were scarcely noticeable. But there came a time when the forest had shrunk sufficiently to make each year's cutting a serious

matter, and from that time on the destruction proceeded with appalling rapidity; for of course each year of destruction rendered the forest less able to recuperate, less able to resist next year's inroad. Mr. Meyer describes the ceaseless progress of the destruction even now, when there is so little left to destroy. Every morning men and boys go out armed with mattock or axe, scale the steep mountain sides, and cut down and grub out, root and branch, the small trees and shrubs still to be found. The big trees disappeared centuries ago, so that now one of these is never seen save in the neighborhood of temples, where they are artificially protected; and even here it takes all the watch and care of the tree-loving priests to prevent their destruction. Each family, each community, where there is no common care exercised in the interest of all of them to prevent deforestation, finds its profit in the immediate use of the fuel which would otherwise be used by some other family or some other community. In the total absence of regulation of the matter in the interest of the whole people, each small group is inevitably pushed into a policy of destruction which cannot afford to take thought for the morrow. This is just one of those matters which it is fatal to leave to unsupervised individual control. The forests can only be protected by the State, by the Nation; and the liberty of action of individuals must be conditioned upon what the State or Nation determines to be necessary for the common safety.

The lesson of deforestation in China is a lesson

which mankind should have learned many times already from what has occurred in other places. Denudation leaves naked soil; then gullying cuts down to the bare rock; and meanwhile the rock-waste buries the bottomlands. When the soil is gone, men must go; and the process does not take long.

This ruthless destruction of the forests in northern China has brought about, or has aided in bringing about, desolation, just as the destruction of the forests in central Asia aid in bringing ruin to the once rich central Asian cities; just as the destruction of the forests in northern Africa helped towards the ruin of a region that was a fertile granary in Roman days. Short-sighted man, whether barbaric, semicivilized, or what he mistakenly regards as fully civilized, when he has destroyed the forests, has rendered certain the ultimate destruction of the land itself. In northern China the mountains are now such as are shown by the accompanying photographs, absolutely barren peaks. Not only have the forests been destroyed, but because of their destruction the soil has been washed off the naked rock. The terrible consequence is that it is impossible now to undo the damage that has been done. Many centuries would have to pass before soil would again collect, or could be made to collect, in sufficient quantity once more to support the old-time forest growth. In consequence the Mongol Desert is practically extending eastward over northern China. The climate has changed and is still changing. It

has changed even within the last half century, as the work of tree destruction has been consummated. The great masses of arboreal vegetation on the mountains formerly absorbed the heat of the sun and sent up currents of cool air which brought the moisture-laden clouds lower and forced them to precipitate in rain a part of their burden of water. Now that there is no vegetation, the barren mountains, scorched by the sun, send up currents of heated air which drive away instead of attracting the rain clouds, and cause their moisture to be disseminated. In consequence, instead of the regular and plentiful rains which existed in these regions in China when the forests were still in evidence, the unfortunate inhabitants of the deforested lands now see their crops wither for lack of rainfall, while the seasons grow more and more irregular; and as the air becomes dryer certain crops refuse longer to grow at all. That everything dries out faster than formerly is shown by the fact that the level of the wells all over the land has sunk perceptibly, many of them having become totally dry. In addition to the resulting agricultural distress, the watercourses have changed. Formerly they were narrow and deep, with an abundance of clear water the year around; for the roots and humus of the forests caught the rainwater and let it escape by slow, regular seepage. They have now become broad, shallow stream beds, in which muddy water trickles in slender currents during the dry seasons, while when it rains there are freshets, and roaring muddy torrents come tearing

down, bringing disaster and destruction everywhere. Moreover, these floods and freshets, which diversify the general dryness, wash away from the mountain sides, and either wash away or cover in the valleys, the rich fertile soil which it took tens of thousands of years for Nature to form; and it is lost forever, and until the forests grow again it can not be replaced. The sand and stones from the mountain sides are washed loose and come rolling down to cover the arable lands, and in consequence, throughout this part of China, many formerly rich districts are now sandy wastes, useless for human cultivation and even for pasture. The cities have been of course seriously affected, for the streams have gradually ceased to be navigable. There is testimony that even within the memory of men now living there has been a serious diminution of the rainfall of northeastern China. The level of the Sungari River in northern Manchuria has been sensibly lowered during the last fifty years, at least partly as the result of the indiscriminate cutting of the forests forming its watershed. Almost all the rivers of northern China have become uncontrollable, and very dangerous to the dwellers along their banks, as a direct result of the destruction of the forests. The journey from Pekin to Jehol shows in melancholy fashion how the soil has been washed away from whole valleys, so that they have been converted into deserts.

In northern China this disastrous process has gone on so long and has proceeded so far that no com-

plete remedy could be applied. There are certain mountains in China from which the soil is gone so utterly that only the slow action of the ages could again restore it; although of course much could be done to prevent the still further eastward extension of the Mongolian Desert if the Chinese Government would act at once. The accompanying cuts from photographs show the inconceivable desolation of the barren mountains in which certain of these rivers rise—mountains, be it remembered, which formerly supported dense forests of larches and firs, now unable to produce any wood, and because of their condition a source of danger to the whole country. The photographs also show the same rivers after they have passed through the mountains, the beds having become broad and sandy because of the deforestation of the mountains. One of the photographs shows a caravan passing through a valley. Formerly, when the mountains were forested, it was thickly peopled by prosperous peasants. Now the floods have carried destruction all over the land and the valley is a stony desert. Another photograph shows a mountain road covered with the stones and rocks that are brought down in the rainy season from the mountains which have already been deforested by human hands. Another shows a pebbly river-bed in southern Manchuria where what was once a great stream has dried up owing to the deforestation in the mountains. Only some scrub wood is left, which will disappear within a half century. Yet another shows the effect of one

of the washouts, destroying an arable mountain side, these washouts being due to the removal of all vegetation; yet in this photograph the foreground shows that reforestation is still a possibility in places.

What has thus happened in northern China, what has happened in Central Asia, in Palestine, in North Africa, in parts of the Mediterranean countries of Europe, will surely happen in our country if we do not exercise that wise forethought which should be one of the chief marks of any people calling itself civilized. Nothing should be permitted to stand in the way of the preservation of the forests, and it is criminal to permit individuals to purchase a little gain for themselves through the destruction of forests when this destruction is fatal to the well-being of the whole country in the future.

Action should be begun forthwith, during the present session of the Congress, for the improvement of our inland waterways—action which will result in giving us not only navigable but navigated rivers. We have spent hundreds of millions of dollars upon these waterways, yet the traffic on nearly all of them is steadily declining. This condition is the direct result of the absence of any comprehensive and far-seeing plan of waterway improvement. Obviously we can not continue thus to expend the revenues of the Government without return. It is poor business to spend money for inland navigation unless we get it.

Inquiry into the condition of the Mississippi and its principal tributaries reveals very many instances

of the utter waste caused by the methods which have hitherto obtained for the so-called "improvement" of navigation. A striking instance is supplied by the "improvement" of the Ohio, which, begun in 1824, was continued under a single plan for half a century. In 1875 a new plan was adopted and followed for a quarter of a century. In 1902 still a different plan was adopted and has since been pursued at a rate which only promises a navigable river in from twenty to one hundred years longer.

Such shortsighted, vacillating, and futile methods are accompanied by decreasing water-borne commerce and increasing traffic congestion on land, by increasing floods, and by the waste of public money. The remedy lies in abandoning the methods which have so signally failed and adopting new ones in keeping with the needs and demands of our people.

In a report on a measure introduced at the first session of the present Congress, the Secretary of War said: "The chief defect in the methods hitherto pursued lies in the absence of executive authority for originating comprehensive plans covering the country or natural divisions thereof." In this opinion I heartily concur. The present methods not only fail to give us inland navigation, but they are injurious to the army as well. What is virtually a permanent detail of the corps of engineers to civilian duty necessarily impairs the efficiency of our military establishment. The military engineers have undoubtedly done efficient work in actual construction, but they are necessarily unsuited by their training

and traditions to take the broad view, and to gather and transmit to the Congress the commercial and industrial information and forecasts, upon which waterway improvement must always so largely rest. Furthermore, they have failed to grasp the great underlying fact that every stream is a unit from its source to its mouth, and that all its uses are interdependent. Prominent officers of the engineer corps have recently even gone so far as to assert in print that waterways are not dependent upon the conservation of the forests about their headwaters. This position is opposed to all the recent work of the scientific bureaus of the Government and to the general experience of mankind. A physician who disbelieved in vaccination would not be the right man to handle an epidemic of smallpox, nor should we leave a doctor skeptical about the transmission of yellow fever by the Stegomyia mosquito in charge of sanitation at Havana or Panama. So with the improvement of our rivers; it is no longer wise or safe to leave this great work in the hands of men who fail to grasp the essential relations between navigation and general development and to assimilate and use the central facts about our streams.

Until the work of river improvement is undertaken in a modern way it can not have results that will meet the needs of this modern nation. These needs should be met without further dilly-dallying or delay. The plan which promises the best and quickest results is that of a permanent commission authorized to coordinate the work of all the Govern-

ment departments relating to waterways, and to frame and supervise the execution of a comprehensive plan. Under such a commission the actual work of construction might be entrusted to the reclamation service; or to the military engineers acting with a sufficient number of civilians to continue the work in time of war; or it might be divided between the reclamation service and the corps of engineers. Funds should be provided from current revenues if it is deemed wise—otherwise from the sale of bonds. The essential thing is that the work should go forward under the best possible plan, and with the least possible delay. We should have a new type of work and a new organization for planning and directing it. The time for playing with our waterways is past. The country demands results.

I urge that all our National parks adjacent to National forests be placed completely under the control of the forest service of the Agricultural Department, instead of leaving them as they now are, under the Interior Department and policed by the army. The Congress should provide for superintendents with adequate corps of first-class civilian scouts, or rangers, and further, place the road construction under the superintendent instead of leaving it with the War Department. Such a change in park management would result in economy and avoid the difficulties of administration which now arise from having the responsibility of care and protection divided between different departments.

The need for this course is peculiarly great in the Yellowstone Park. This, like the Yosemite, is a great wonderland, and should be kept as a national playground. In both all wild things should be protected, and the scenery kept wholly unmarred.

I am happy to say that I have been able to set aside in various parts of the country small, well-chosen tracts of ground to serve as sanctuaries and nurseries for wild creatures.

I had occasion in my message of May 4, 1906, to urge the passage of some law putting alcohol, used in the arts, industries, and manufactures, upon the free list; that is, to provide for the withdrawal free of tax of alcohol which is to be denatured for those purposes. The law of June 7, 1906, and its amendment of March 2, 1907, accomplished what was desired in that respect, and the use of denatured alcohol, as intended, is making a fair degree of progress and is entitled to further encouragement and support from the Congress.

The pure food legislation has already worked a benefit difficult to overestimate.

It has been my purpose from the beginning of my administration to take the Indian Service completely out of the atmosphere of political activity, and there has been steady progress toward that end. The last remaining stronghold of politics in that service was the agency system, which had seen its best days and was gradually falling to pieces from natural or purely evolutionary causes, but, like all such survivals, was decaying slowly in its later stages. It

seems clear that its extinction had better be made final now, so that the ground can be cleared for larger constructive work on behalf of the Indians, preparatory to their induction into the full measure of responsible citizenship. On November 1 only eighteen agencies were left on the roster; with two exceptions, where some legal questions seemed to stand temporarily in the way, these have been changed to superintendencies, and their heads brought into the classified civil service.

Last year an amendment was incorporated in the measure providing for the Secret Service, which provided that there should be no detail from the Secret Service and no transfer therefrom. It is not too much to say that this amendment has been of benefit only, and could be of benefit only, to the criminal classes. If deliberately introduced for the purpose of diminishing the effectiveness of war against crime it could not have been better devised to this end. It forbade the practices that had been followed to a greater or less extent by the executive heads of various departments for twenty years. To these practices we owe the securing of the evidence which enabled us to drive great lotteries out of business and secure a quarter of a million of dollars in fines from their promoters. These practices have enabled us to discover some of the most outrageous frauds in connection with the theft of government land and government timber by great corporations and by individuals. These practices have enabled us to get some of the evidence indispensable in order

to secure the conviction of the wealthiest and most formidable criminals with whom the Government has to deal, both those operating in violation of the anti-trust law and others. The amendment in question was of benefit to no one excepting to these criminals, and it seriously hampers the Government in the detection of crime and the securing of justice. Moreover, it not only affects departments outside of the Treasury but it tends to hamper the Secretary of the Treasury himself in the effort to utilize the employees of his department so as to best meet the requirements of the public service. It forbids him from preventing frauds upon the customs service, from investigating irregularities in branch mints and assay offices, and has seriously crippled him. It prevents the promotion of employees in the Secret Service, and this further discourages good effort. In its present form the restriction operates only to the advantage of the criminal, or the wrongdoer. The chief argument in favor of the provision was that the Congressmen did not themselves wish to be investigated by Secret Service men. Very little of such investigation has been done in the past; but it is true that the work of the Secret Service agents was partly responsible for the indictment and conviction of a Senator, and a Congressman for land frauds in Oregon. I do not believe that it is in the public interest to protect criminals in any branch of the public service, and exactly as we have again and again during the past seven years prosecuted and convicted such criminals who were in the executive branch of the

Government, so in my belief we should be given ample means to prosecute them if found in the legislative branch. But if this is not considered desirable a special exception could be made in the law prohibiting the use of the Secret Service force in investigating members of the Congress. It would be far better to do this than to do what actually was done, and strive to prevent or at least to hamper effective action against criminals by the executive branch of the Government.

I again renew my recommendation for postal savings banks, for depositing savings with the security of the Government behind them. The object is to encourage thrift and economy in the wage-earner and person of moderate means. In fourteen States the deposits in savings banks as reported to the Comptroller of the Currency amount to $3,590,245,402, or 98.4 per cent of the entire deposits, while in the remaining 32 States there are only $70,308,543, or 1.6 per cent, showing conclusively that there are many localities in the United States where sufficient opportunity is not given to the people to deposit their savings. The result is that money is kept in hiding and unemployed. It is believed that in the aggregate vast sums of money would be brought into circulation through the instrumentality of the postal savings banks. While there are only 1,453 savings banks reporting to the Comptroller there are more than 61,000 post-offices, 40,000 of which are money order offices. Postal savings banks are now in operation in practically all

the great civilized countries with the exception of the United States.

In my last annual message I commended the Postmaster-General's recommendation for an extension of the parcel post on the rural routes. The establishment of a local parcel post on rural routes would be to the mutual benefit of the farmer and the country storekeeper, and it is desirable that the routes, serving more than 15,000,000 people, should be utilized to the fullest practicable extent. An amendment was proposed in the Senate at the last session, at the suggestion of the Postmaster-General, providing that, for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of establishing a special local parcel post system on the rural routes throughout the United States, the Postmaster-General be authorized and directed to experiment and report to the Congress the result of such experiment by establishing a special local parcel post system on rural delivery routes in not to exceed four counties in the United States for packages of fourth-class matter originating on a rural route or at the distributing post-office for delivery by rural carriers. It would seem only proper that such an experiment should be tried in order to demonstrate the practicability of the proposition, especially as the Postmaster-General estimates that the revenue derived from the operation of such a system on all the rural routes would amount to many million dollars.

The share that the National Government should take in the broad work of education has not received

the attention and the care it rightly deserves. The immediate responsibility for the support and improvement of our educational systems and institutions rests and should always rest with the people of the several States acting through their State and local governments, but the Nation has an opportunity in educational work which must not be lost and a duty which should no longer be neglected.

The National Bureau of Education was established more than forty years ago. Its purpose is to collect and diffuse such information "as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country." This purpose in no way conflicts with the educational work of the States, but may be made of great advantage to the States by giving them the fullest, most accurate, and hence the most helpful information and suggestion regarding the best educational systems. The Nation, through its broader field of activities, its wider opportunity for obtaining information from all the States and from foreign countries, is able to do that which not even the richest States can do, and with the distinct additional advantage that the information thus obtained is used for the immediate benefit of all our people.

With the limited means hitherto provided, the Bureau of Education has rendered efficient service, but the Congress has neglected to adequately supply the bureau with means to meet the educational

growth of the country. The appropriations for the general work of the bureau, outside education in Alaska, for the year 1909 are but $87,500—an amount less than they were ten years ago, and some of the important items in these appropriations are less than they were thirty years ago. It is an inexcusable waste of public money to appropriate an amount which is so inadequate as to make it impossible properly to do the work authorized, and it is unfair to the great educational interests of the country to deprive them of the value of the results which can be obtained by proper appropriations.

I earnestly recommend that this unfortunate state of affairs as regards the national educational office be remedied by adequate appropriations. This recommendation is urged by the representatives of our common schools and great State universities and the leading educators, who all unite in requesting favorable consideration and action by the Congress upon this subject.

I strongly urge that the request of the Director of the Census in connection with the decennial work so soon to be begun, be complied with and that the appointments to the census force be placed under the civil service law, waiving the geographical requirements as requested by the Director of the Census. The supervisors and enumerators should not be appointed under the civil service law, for the reasons given by the Director. I commend to the Congress the careful consideration of the admirable report of the Director of the Census, and I trust that his rec-

ommendations will be adopted and immediate action thereon taken.

It is highly advisable that there should be intelligent action on the part of the Nation on the question of preserving the health of the country. Through the practical extermination in San Francisco of disease-bearing rodents our country has thus far escaped the bubonic plague. This is but one of the many achievements of American health officers; and it shows what can be accomplished with a better organization than at present exists. The dangers to public health from food adulteration and from many other sources, such as the menace to the physical, mental and moral development of children from child labor, should be met and overcome. There are numerous diseases, which are now known to be preventable, which are, nevertheless, not prevented. The recent International Congress on Tuberculosis has made us painfully aware of the inadequacy of American public health legislation. This Nation can not afford to lag behind in the world-wide battle now being waged by all civilized people with the microscopic foes of mankind, nor ought we longer to ignore the reproach that this Government takes more pains to protect the lives of hogs and of cattle than of human beings. The first legislative step to be taken is that for the concentration of the proper bureaus into one of the existing departments. I therefore urgently recommend the passage of a bill which shall authorize a redistribution of the bureaus which shall best accomplish this end.

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I recommend that legislation be enacted placing under the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce and Labor the Government Printing Office. At present this office is under the combined control, supervision, and administrative direction of the President and of the Joint Committee on Printing of the two Houses of the Congress. The advantage of having the 4,069 employees in this office and the expenditure of the $5,761,377.57 appropriated therefor supervised by an executive department is obvious, instead of the present combined supervision.

All Soldiers' Homes should be placed under the complete jurisdiction and control of the War Department.

Economy and sound business policy require that all existing independent bureaus and commissions should be placed under the jurisdiction of appropriate executive departments. It is unwise from every standpoint, and results only in mischief, to have any executive work done save by the purely executive bodies, under the control of the President; and each such executive body should be under the immediate supervision of a Cabinet Minister.

I advocate the immediate admission of New Mexico and Arizona as States. This should be done at the present session of the Congress. The people of the two Territories have made it evident by their votes that they will not come in as one State. The only alternative is to admit them as two, and I trust that this will be done without delay.

I call the attention of the Congress to the im-

portance of the problem of the fisheries in the interstate waters. On the Great Lakes we are now, under the very wise treaty of April 11 of this year, endeavoring to come to an international agreement for the preservation and satisfactory use of the fisheries of these waters which can not otherwise be achieved. Lake Erie, for example, has the richest fresh water fisheries in the world; but it is now controlled by the statutes of two Nations, four States, and one Province, and in this Province by different ordinances in different counties. All these political divisions work at cross purposes, and in no case can they achieve protection to the fisheries, on the one hand, and justice to the localities and individuals on the other. The case is similar in Puget Sound.

But the problem is quite as pressing in the interstate waters of the United States. The salmon fisheries of the Columbia River are now but a fraction of what they were twenty-five years ago, and what they would be now if the United States Government had taken complete charge of them by intervening between Oregon and Washington. During these twenty-five years the fishermen of each State have naturally tried to take all they could get, and the two legislatures have never been able to agree on joint action of any kind adequate in degree for the protection of the fisheries. At the moment the fishing on the Oregon side is practically closed, while there is no limit on the Washington side of any kind, and no one can tell what the courts will decide as to the very statutes under which this action

and nonaction result. Meanwhile very few salmon reach the spawning grounds, and probably four years hence the fisheries will amount to nothing; and this comes from a struggle between the associated, or gill-net, fishermen on the one hand, and the owners of the fishing wheels up the river. The fisheries of the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Potomac are also in a bad way. For this there is no remedy except for the United States to control and legislate for the interstate fisheries as part of the business of interstate commerce. In this case the machinery for scientific investigation and for control already exists in the United States Bureau of Fisheries. In this as in similar problems the obvious and simple rule should be followed of having those matters which no particular State can manage taken in hand by the United States; problems, which in the seesaw of conflicting State legislatures are absolutely unsolvable, are easy enough for the Congress to control.

The federal statute regulating interstate traffic in game should be extended to include fish. New federal fish hatcheries should be established. The administration of the Alaskan fur-seal service should be vested in the Bureau of Fisheries.

This Nation's foreign policy is based on the theory that right must be done between nations precisely as between individuals, and in our actions for the last ten years we have in this matter proven our faith by our deeds. We have behaved, and are behaving, towards other nations, as in private life an

honorable man would behave towards his fellows. The commercial and material progress of the twenty Latin-American Republics is worthy of the careful attention of the Congress. No other section of the world has shown a greater proportionate development of its foreign trade during the last ten years and none other has more special claims on the interest of the United States. It offers to-day probably larger opportunities for the legitimate expansion of our commerce than any other group of countries. These countries will want our products in greatly increased quantities, and we shall correspondingly need theirs. The International Bureau of the American Republics is doing a useful work in making these nations and their resources better known to us, and in acquainting them not only with us as a people and with our purposes towards them, but with what we have to exchange for their goods. It is an international institution supported by all the governments of the two Americas.

The work on the Panama Canal is being done with a speed efficiency and entire devotion to duty, which make it a model for all work of the kind. No task of such magnitude has ever before been undertaken by any nation; and no task of the kind has ever been better performed. The men on the Isthmus, from Colonel Goethals and his fellow commissioners through the entire list of employees who are faithfully doing their duty, have won their right to the ungrudging respect and gratitude of the American people.

I again recommend the extension of the ocean mail act of 1891, so that satisfactory American ocean mail lines to South America, Asia, the Philippines, and Australasia may be established. The creation of such steamship lines should be the natural corollary of the voyage of the battle fleet. It should precede the opening of the Panama Canal. Even under favorable conditions several years must elapse before such lines can be put into operation. Accordingly I urge that the Congress act promptly where foresight already shows that action sooner or later will be inevitable.

I call particular attention to the Territory of Hawaii. The importance of those islands is apparent, and the need of improving their condition and developing their resources is urgent. In recent years industrial conditions upon the islands have radically changed. The importation of coolie labor has practically ceased, and there is now developing such a diversity in agricultural products as to make possible a change in the land conditions of the Territory, so that an opportunity may be given to the small land owner similar to that on the mainland.

To aid these changes, the National Government must provide the necessary harbor improvements on each island, so that the agricultural products can be carried to the markets of the world. The coastwise shipping laws should be amended to meet the special needs of the islands, and the alien contract labor law should be so modified in its application to Hawaii

as to enable American and European labor to be brought thither.

We have begun to improve Pearl Harbor for a naval base and to provide the necessary military fortifications for the protection of the islands, but I can not too strongly emphasize the need of appropriations for these purposes of such an amount as will within the shortest possible time make those islands practically impregnable. It is useless to develop the industrial conditions of the islands and establish there bases of supply for our naval and merchant fleets unless we insure, as far as human ingenuity can, their safety from foreign seizure.

One thing to be remembered with all our fortifications is that it is almost useless to make them impregnable from the sea if they are left open to land attack. This is true even of our own coast, but it is doubly true of our insular possessions. In Hawaii, for instance, it is worse than useless to establish a naval station unless we establish it behind fortifications so strong that no landing force can take them save by regular and long-continued siege operations.

Real progress toward self-government is being made in the Philippine Islands. The gathering of a Philippine legislative body and Philippine assembly marks a process absolutely new in Asia, not only as regards Asiatic colonies of European powers but as regards Asiatic possessions of other Asiatic powers; and, indeed, always excepting the striking and wonderful example afforded by the great Em-

pire of Japan, it opens an entirely new departure when compared with anything which has happened among Asiatic powers which are their own masters. Hitherto this Philippine legislature has acted with moderation and self-restraint, and has seemed in practical fashion to realize the eternal truth that there must always be government, and that the only way in which any body of individuals can escape the necessity of being governed by outsiders is to show that they are able to restrain themselves, to keep down wrongdoing and disorder. The Filipino people, through their officials, are therefore making real steps in the direction of self-government. I hope and believe that these steps mark the beginning of a course which will continue till the Filipinos become fit to decide for themselves whether they desire to be an independent nation. But it is well for them (and well also for those Americans who during the past decade have done so much damage to the Filipinos by agitation for an immediate independence for which they were totally unfit) to remember that self-government depends, and must depend, upon the Filipinos themselves. All we can do is to give them the opportunity to develop the capacity for self-government. If we had followed the advice of the foolish doctrinaires who wished us at any time during the last ten years to turn the Filipino people adrift, we should have shirked the plainest possible duty and have inflicted a lasting wrong upon the Filipino people. We have acted in exactly the opposite spirit. We have given the

Filipinos constitutional government; a government based upon justice; and we have shown that we have governed them for their good and not for our aggrandizement. At the present time, as during the past ten years, the inexorable logic of facts shows that this government must be supplied by us and not by them. We must be wise and generous; we must help the Filipinos to master the difficult art of self-control, which is simply another name for self-government. But we can not give them self-government save in the sense of governing them so that gradually they may, if they are able, learn to govern themselves. Under the present system of just laws and sympathetic administration, we have every reason to believe that they are gradually acquiring the character which lies at the basis of self-government, and for which, if it be lacking, no system of laws, no paper constitution, will in any wise serve as a substitute. Our people in the Philippines have achieved what may legitimately be called a marvelous success in giving to them a government which marks on the part of those in authority both the necessary understanding of the people and the necessary purpose to serve them disinterestedly and in good faith. I trust that within a generation the time will arrive when the Philippines can decide for themselves whether it is well for them to become independent, or to continue under the protection of a strong and disinterested power, able to guarantee to the islands order at home and protection from foreign invasion. But no one can prophesy the exact date when it will

be wise to consider independence as a fixed and definite policy. It would be worse than folly to try to set down such a date in advance, for it must depend upon the way in which the Philippine people themselves develop the power of self-mastery.

I again recommend that American citizenship be conferred upon the people of Porto Rico.

In Cuba our occupancy will cease in about two months' time; the Cubans have in orderly manner elected their own governmental authorities, and the island will be turned over to them. Our occupation on this occasion has lasted a little over two years, and Cuba has thriven and prospered under it. Our earnest hope and one desire is that the people of the island shall now govern themselves with justice, so that peace and order may be secure. We will gladly help them to this end; but I would solemnly warn them to remember the great truth that the only way a people can permanently avoid being governed from without is to show that they both can and will govern themselves from within.

The Japanese Government has postponed until 1917 the date of the great international exposition, the action being taken so as to insure ample time in which to prepare to make the exposition all that it should be made. The American commissioners have visited Japan and the postponement will merely give ampler opportunity for America to be represented at the exposition. Not since the first international exposition has there been one of greater importance than this will be, marking as it does the fiftieth anni-

versary of the ascension to the throne of the Emperor of Japan. The extraordinary leap to a foremost place among the nations of the world made by Japan during this half century is something unparalleled in all previous history. This exposition will fitly commemorate and signalize the giant progress that has been achieved. It is the first exposition of its kind that has ever been held in Asia. The United States, because of the ancient friendship between the two peoples, because each of us fronts on the Pacific, and because of the growing commercial relations between this country and Asia, takes a peculiar interest in seeing the exposition made a success in every way.

I take this opportunity publicly to state my appreciation of the way in which in Japan, in Australia, in New Zealand, and in all the States of South America, the battle fleet has been received on its practice voyage around the world. The American Government can not too strongly express its appreciation of the abounding and generous hospitality shown our ships in every port they visited.

As regards the Army I call attention to the fact that while our junior officers and enlisted men stand very high, the present system of promotion by seniority results in bringing into the higher grades many men of mediocre capacity who have but a short time to serve. No man should regard it as his vested right to rise to the highest rank in the Army any more than in any other profession. It is a curious and by no means creditable fact that there should

be so often a failure on the part of the public and its representatives to understand the great need, from the standpoint of the service and the Nation, of refusing to promote respectable, elderly incompetents. The higher places should be given to the most deserving men without regard to seniority; at least seniority should be treated as only one consideration. In the stress of modern industrial competition no business firm could succeed if those responsible for its management were chosen simply on the ground that they were the oldest people in its employment; yet this is the course advocated as regards the army, and required by law for all grades except those of general officer. As a matter of fact, all of the best officers in the highest ranks of the army are those who have attained their present position wholly or in part by a process of selection.

The scope of retiring boards should be extended so that they could consider general unfitness to command for any cause, in order to secure a far more rigid enforcement than at present in the elimination of officers for mental, physical or temperamental disabilities. But this plan is recommended only if the Congress does not see fit to provide what in my judgment is far better; that is, for selection in promotion, and for elimination for age. Officers who fail to attain a certain rank by a certain age should be retired—for instance, if a man should not attain field rank by the time he is 45 he should of course be placed on the retired list. General officers should

be selected as at present, and one-third of the other promotions should be made by selection, the selection to be made by the President or the Secretary of War from a list of at least two candidates proposed for each vacancy by a board of officers from the arm of the service from which the promotion is to be made. A bill is now before the Congress having for its object to secure the promotion of officers to various grades at reasonable ages through a process of selection, by boards of officers, of the least efficient for retirement with a percentage of their pay depending upon length of service. The bill, although not accomplishing all that should be done, is a long step in the right direction; and I earnestly recommend its passage, or that of a more completely effective measure.

The cavalry arm should be reorganized upon modern lines. This is an arm in which it is peculiarly necessary that the field officers should not be old. The cavalry is much more difficult to form than infantry, and it should be kept up to the maximum both in efficiency and in strength, for it can not be made in a hurry. At present both infantry and artillery are too few in number for our needs. Especial attention should be paid to development of the machine gun. A general service corps should be established. As things are now the average soldier has far too much labor of a nonmilitary character to perform.

Now that the organized militia, the National Guard, has been incorporated with the army as a

part of the national forces, it behooves the Government to do every reasonable thing in its power to perfect its efficiency. It should be assisted in its instruction and otherwise aided more liberally than heretofore. The continuous services of many well-trained regular officers will be essential in this connection. Such officers must be specially trained at service schools best to qualify them as instructors of the National Guard. But the detailing of officers for training at the service schools and for duty with the National Guard entails detaching them from their regiments which are already greatly depleted by detachment of officers for assignment to duties prescribed by acts of the Congress.

A bill is now pending before the Congress creating a number of extra officers in the army, which if passed, as it ought to be, will enable more officers to be trained as instructors of National Guard and assigned to that duty. In case of war it will be of the utmost importance to have a large number of trained officers to use for turning raw levies into good troops.

There should be legislation to provide a complete plan for organizing the great body of volunteers behind the regular army and national guard when war has come. Congressional assistance should be given those who are endeavoring to promote rifle practice so that our men, in the services or out of them, may know how to use the rifle. While teams representing the United States won the rifle and revolver championships of the world against all

comers in England this year, it is unfortunately true that the great body of our citizens shoot less and less as time goes on. To meet this we should encourage rifle practice among schoolboys, and indeed among all classes, as well as in the military services, by every means in our power. Thus, and not otherwise, may we be able to assist in preserving the peace of the world. Fit to hold our own against the strong nations of the earth, our voice for peace will carry to the ends of the earth. Unprepared, and therefore unfit, we must sit dumb and helpless to defend ourselves, protect others, or preserve peace. The first step—in the direction of preparation to avert war if possible, and to be fit for war if it should come—is to teach our men to shoot.

I approve the recommendations of the General Board for the increase of the Navy, calling especial attention to the need of additional destroyers and colliers, and above all, of the four battleships. It is desirable to complete as soon as possible a squadron of eight battleships of the best existing type. The *North Dakota, Delaware, Florida,* and *Utah* will form the first division of this squadron. The four vessels proposed will form the second division. It will be an improvement on the first, the ships being of the heavy, single caliber, all big gun type. All the vessels should have the same tactical qualities, that is, speed and turning circle, and as near as possible these tactical qualities should be the same as is in the four vessels before named now being built.

I most earnestly recommend that the General Board be by law turned into a General Staff. There is literally no excuse whatever for continuing the present bureau organization of the Navy. The Navy should be treated as a purely military organization, and everything should be subordinated to the one object of securing military efficiency. Such military efficiency can only be guaranteed in time of war if there is the most thorough previous preparation in time of peace—a preparation, I may add, which will in all probability prevent any need of war. The Secretary must be supreme, and he should have as his official advisers a body of line officers who should themselves have the power to pass upon and coordinate all the work and all the proposals of the several bureaus. A system of promotion by merit, either by selection or by exclusion, or by both processes, should be introduced. It is out of the question, if the present principle of promotion by mere seniority is kept, to expect to get the best results from the higher officers. Our men come too old, and stay for too short a time, in the high command positions.

Two hospital ships should be provided. The actual experience of the hospital ship with the fleet in the Pacific has shown the invaluable work which such a ship does, and has also proved that it is well to have it kept under the command of a medical officer. As was to be expected, all of the anticipations of trouble from such a command have proved completely baseless. It is as absurd to put a hospital

ship under a line officer as it would be to put a hospital on shore under such a command. This ought to have been realized before, and there is no excuse for failure to realize it now.

Nothing better for the Navy from every standpoint has ever occurred than the cruise of the battle fleet around the world. The improvement of the ships in every way has been extraordinary, and they have gained far more experience in battle tactics than they would have gained if they had stayed in the Atlantic waters. The American people have cause for profound gratification, both in view of the excellent condition of the fleet as shown by this cruise, and in view of the improvement the cruise has worked in this already high condition. I do not believe that there is any other service in the world in which the average of character and efficiency in the enlisted men is as high as is now the case in our own. I believe that the same statement can be made as to our officers, taken as a whole; but there must be a reservation made in regard to those in the highest ranks—as to which I have already spoken—and in regard to those who have just entered the service; because we do not now get full benefit from our excellent naval school at Annapolis. It is absurd not to graduate the midshipmen as ensigns; to keep them for two years in such an anomalous position as at present the law requires is detrimental to them and to the service. In the academy itself, every first classman should be required in turn to serve as petty officer and officer;

his ability to discharge his duties as such should be a prerequisite to his going into the line, and his success in commanding should largely determine his standing at graduation. The Board of Visitors should be appointed in January, and each member should be required to give at least six days' service, only from one to three days' to be performed during June week, which is the least desirable time for the board to be at Annapolis so far as benefiting the navy by their observations is concerned.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Tuesday, December 8, 1908.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 14, 1908

To the Senate:

I inclose herewith a letter from the Secretary of War transmitting a report of the investigation made by Mr. Herbert J. Browne, employed by the department in conjunction with Capt. W. G. Baldwin to investigate as far as possible what happened at Brownsville on the 13th and 14th of August, 1906. The report and documents contain some information of great value and some statements that are obviously worthless, but I submit them in their entirety.

This report enables us to fix with tolerable definiteness at least some of the criminals who took the lead in the murderous shooting of private citizens at Brownsville. It establishes clearly the fact

that the colored soldiers did the shooting; but upon this point further record was unnecessary, as the fact that the colored soldiers did the shooting has already been established beyond all possibility of doubt. The investigation has not gone far enough to enable us to determine all the facts, and we will proceed with it; but it has gone far enough to determine with sufficient accuracy certain facts of enough importance to make it advisable that I place the report before you. It appears that almost all the members of Company B must have been actively concerned in the shooting, either to the extent of being participants or to the extent of virtually encouraging those who were participants. As to Companies C and D there can be no question that practically every man in them must have had knowledge that the shooting was done by some of the soldiers of B Troop, and possibly by one or two others in one of the other troops. This concealment was itself a grave offence, which was greatly aggravated by their testifying before the Senate committee that they were ignorant of what they must have known. Nevertheless, it is to be said in partial extenuation that they were probably cowed by threats, made by the more desperate of the men who had actually been engaged in the shooting, as to what would happen to any man who failed to protect the wrong-doers. Moreover, there are circumstances tending to show that these misguided men were encouraged by outsiders to persist in their course of concealment and denial. I feel, there-

fore, that the guilt of the men who, after the event, thus shielded the perpetrators of the wrong by refusing to tell the truth about them, though serious, was in part due to the unwise and improper attitude of others, and that some measure of allowance should be made for the misconduct. In other words, I believe we can afford to reinstate any of these men who now truthfully tell what has happened, give all the aid they can to fix the responsibility upon those who are really guilty, and show that they themselves had no guilty knowledge beforehand and were in no way implicated in the affair, save by having knowledge of it afterwards and failing and refusing to divulge it. Under the circumstances, and in view of the length of time they have been out of the service, and their loss of the benefit that would have accrued to them by continuous long-time service, we can afford to treat the men who meet the requirements given above as having been sufficiently punished by the consequences they brought upon themselves when they rendered necessary the exercise of the disciplinary power. I recommend that a law be passed allowing the Secretary of War, within a fixed period of time, say a year, to reinstate any of these soldiers whom he, after careful examination, finds to have been innocent and whom he finds to have done all in his power to help bring to justice the guilty.

Meanwhile the investigation will be continued. The results have made it obvious that only by carrying on the investigation as the War Department has

actually carried it on is there the slightest chance of bringing the offenders to justice or of separating not the innocent, for there were doubtless hardly any innocent, but the less guilty from those whose guilt was heinous.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
December 14, 1908.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DECEMBER 15, 1908

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

In view of the constant reiteration of the assertion that there was some corrupt action by or on behalf of the United States Government in connection with the acquisition of the title of the French Company to the Panama Canal, and of the repetition of the story that a syndicate of American citizens owned either one or both of the Panama companies, I deem it wise to submit to the Congress all the information I have on the subject. These stories were first brought to my attention as published in a paper in Indianapolis, called the "News," edited by Mr. Delavan Smith. The stories were scurrilous and libelous in character and false in every essential particular. Mr. Smith shelters himself behind the excuse that he merely accepted the statements which had appeared in a paper published in New York, the "World," owned by Mr. Joseph Pulitzer. It is idle to say that the known character of Mr. Pulitzer and his newspaper are

such that the statements in that paper will be believed by nobody; unfortunately, thousands of persons are ill informed in this respect and believe the statements they see in print, even though they appear in a newspaper published by Mr. Pulitzer. A Member of the Congress has actually introduced a resolution in reference to these charges. I therefore lay all the facts before you.

The story repeated at various times by the "World" and by its followers in the newspaper press is substantially as follows: That there was corruption by or on behalf of the Government of the United States in the transaction by which the Panama Canal property was acquired from its French owners; that there were improper dealings of some kind between agents of the Government and outside persons, representing or acting for an American syndicate, who had gotten possession of the French Company; that among these persons, who it was alleged made "huge profits," were Mr. Charles P. Taft, a brother of Mr. William H. Taft, then candidate for the Presidency, and Mr. Douglas Robinson, my brother-in-law; that Mr. Cromwell, the counsel for the Panama Canal Company in the negotiations, was in some way implicated with the United States governmental authorities in these improper transactions; that the Government has concealed the true facts, and has destroyed, or procured or agreed to the destruction of, certain documents; that Mr. W. H. Taft was Secretary of War at the time that by an agreement between the United States Govern-

ment and the beneficiaries of the deal all traces thereof were "wiped out" by transferring all the archives and "secrets" to the American Government, just before the holding of the convention last June at which Mr. Taft was nominated.

These statements sometimes appeared in the editorials, sometimes in the news columns, sometimes in the shape of contributions from individuals either unknown or known to be of bad character. They are false in every particular from beginning to end. The wickedness of the slanders is only surpassed by their fatuity. So utterly baseless are the stories that apparently they represent in part merely material collected for campaign purposes and in part stories originally concocted with a view of possible blackmail. The inventor of the story about Mr. Charles P. Taft, for instance, evidently supposed that at some period of the Panama purchase Mr. W. H. Taft was Secretary of War, whereas in reality Mr. W. H. Taft never became Secretary of War until long after the whole transaction in question had been closed. The inventor of the story about Mr. Douglas Robinson had not taken the trouble to find out the fact that Mr. Robinson had not had the slightest connection, directly or indirectly, of any kind or sort with any phase of the Panama transaction from beginning to end. The men who attacked Mr. Root in the matter had not taken the trouble to read the public documents which would have informed them that Mr. Root had nothing to do with the purchase, which was entirely

arranged through the Department of Justice under the then Attorney-General, Mr. Knox.

Now, these stories as a matter of fact need no investigation whatever. No shadow of proof has been, or can be, produced in behalf of any of them. They consist simply of a string of infamous libels. In form, they are in part libels upon individuals, upon Mr. Taft and Mr. Robinson for instance. But they are in fact wholly, and in form partly, a libel upon the United States Government. I do not believe we should concern ourselves with the particular individuals who wrote the lying and libelous editorials, articles from correspondents, or articles in the news columns. The real offender is Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, editor and proprietor of the "World." While the criminal offence of which Mr. Pulitzer has been guilty is in form a libel upon individuals, the great injury done is in blackening the good name of the American people. It should not be left to a private citizen to sue Mr. Pulitzer for libel. He should be prosecuted for libel by the governmental authorities. In point of encouragement of iniquity, in point of infamy, or wrong-doing, there is nothing to choose between a public servant who betrays his trust, a public servant who is guilty of blackmail, or theft, or financial dishonesty of any kind, and a man guilty as Mr. Joseph Pulitzer has been guilty in this instance. It is therefore a high national duty to bring to justice this vilifier of the American people, this man who wantonly and wickedly and without one shadow of justification seeks to blacken

the character of reputable private citizens and to convict the Government of his own country in the eyes of the civilized world of wrong-doing of the basest and foulest kind, when he has not one shadow of justification of any sort or description for the charge he has made. The Attorney-General has under consideration the form in which the proceedings against Mr. Pulitzer shall be brought.

Meanwhile I submit to you all the accompanying papers, so that you may have before you complete information on the subject. I call your attention to my communications in my messages to the Congress of January 20, 1902, March 11, 1903, December 7, 1903, January 4, 1904, and December 17, 1906, in which I set forth at length the history of various phases of the whole transaction. I recall your attention to the report and opinion of the Attorney-General rendered to me, dated October 25, 1902, with the accompanying documents and exhibits. I call your attention to the correspondence of the officers and agents of the Panama Canal Company with the President and other officers of the United States printed in Senate Document No. 34, December 10, 1902; also to the copy of the official proceedings of the New Panama Canal Company at Paris on the 30th of December, 1903, together with a report of the Council of Administration of that company, printed in Senate Document No. 133, January 28, 1904; and to the copy of the general conveyance by the New Panama Canal Company to the United States, also copies of certain telegrams

from the president of the company making an offer of sale, and Attorney-General Knox's cablegram in response printed in Senate Document No. 285, March 23, 1906. I call your attention furthermore to the exhaustive testimony recorded in public document (Sen. Doc. No. 411, 59th Cong., 2nd sess.), which contains the searching investigation into the whole transaction made by the Congress for its information and fully considered by the Congress before it took action.

In the Act approved June 28, 1902, "To provide for the construction of a canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans," the Congress provided as follows:

"That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to acquire, for and on behalf of the United States, at a cost not exceeding forty millions of dollars, the rights, privileges, franchises, concessions, grants of land, right of way, unfinished work, plants, and other property, real, personal, and mixed, of every name and nature, owned by the New Panama Canal Company, of France, on the Isthmus of Panama, and all its maps, plans, drawings, records on the Isthmus of Panama, and in Paris, including all the capital stock, not less, however, than sixty-eight thousand eight hundred and sixty-three shares of the Panama Railroad Company, owned by or held for the use of said Canal Company, provided a satisfactory title to all of said property can be obtained."

It thereupon became the duty of the President, in

execution of this statute, to purchase the property specified from the New Panama Canal Company, of France, provided he could obtain a satisfactory title. The Department of Justice was instructed to examine the title, and after such an examination Attorney-General Knox reported that a satisfactory title could be obtained. Payment of the purchase price was thereupon made to the New Panama Canal Company, in accordance with the act of the Congress, and the property was conveyed by that company to the United States. It was no concern of the President, or of any officer of the Executive Department, to inquire as to what the New Panama Canal Company did with the money which it received. As a matter of fact, the New Panama Canal Company did distribute the money between its shareholders and the shareholders of the preceding Panama Canal Company in accordance with the decree of a French court, and the records of the French court show who were the shareholders who received the money; but that is no concern of ours.

I call your attention to the accompanying statement as to the attempt to form an American company in 1899 for the purpose of taking over the property of the French company. This attempt proved abortive. There was no concealment in its effort to put through this plan; its complete failure and abandonment being known to every one.

The important points set forth in the accompanying papers, and in the papers to which I have referred you, are as follows:

The investigation of the history, physical condition, and existing value of the enterprise by the Congress, resulting in the enactment of the law of 1902 authorizing the President to acquire the property for the sum of $40,000,000 upon securing a satisfactory title and thereupon to undertake the work of construction; the failure of the Americanization of the enterprise in 1899; the transmission by me to the Congress from time to time of full information and advice as to the relations of this Government to transit across the Isthmus and under the treaties, as to the negotiations and final acquisition of the title, and later as to the progress and condition of the work of construction; the previous authorization of the sale to the United States by the stockholders of the new company and their subsequent ratification; the examination and approval of the title by Mr. Knox; the arrangements for payment through J. P. Morgan & Company as the fiscal agents of this Government, and the payment accordingly at the Bank of France upon proper official receipts to the liquidators acting under the decree of the French court, the French governmental body having jurisdiction in the matter; and, finally, the subsequent apportionment and distribution of the fund to the creditors and stockholders of the two companies under that decree.

The Panama Canal transaction was actually carried through not by either the then Secretary of State, Mr. John Hay, or the then Secretary of War, Mr. Elihu Root, both of whom, however, were

cognizant of all the essential features; but by the then Attorney-General, Mr. P. C. Knox, at present Senator from Pennsylvania. I directed or approved every action, and am responsible for all that was done in carrying out the will of the Congress; and the provisions of the law, enacted by Congress after exhaustive examination and discussion, were scrupulously complied with by the Executive. While the transaction was pending I saw Mr. Cromwell but two or three times, and my communications with him were limited to the exchange of purely formal courtesies. Secretary Hay occasionally saw him, in the same manner; I doubt whether Mr. Root held any conversation with him. The Attorney-General saw him frequently, as he was counsel for the Panama Company; their communications were official, as representing the two sides. I enclose copies of my correspondence with Mr. Wm. Dudley Foulke, who first brought these scandalous stories to my attention, and with Senator Knox and Mr. Cromwell, to whom I wrote in response to the request of a gentleman who wished to know about the stockholders in the Panama Canal Company.

The title to the Panama Canal properties was vested in the New Panama Canal Company of France, which was the legal owner thereof, and the old or so-called De Lesseps Company had a large equity therein. The title was not in a New Jersey company nor in any other American company, nor did this Government have any dealings with any American company throughout the affair.

The exact legal status, to the most minute detail, appears in the exhaustive opinion of Attorney-General Knox approving the title to be given to the United States, which clearly establishes that the only party dealt with was the New Panama Canal Company of France (with the concurrence of the liquidator of the old company) and not any American corporation or syndicate.

The action of the United States Government was, of course, wholly uninfluenced by, and had nothing whatever to do with, any question as to who were, or who had been, the security-holders of either the new or the old company. Who such security-holders were was not our affair. If, as a matter of fact, the Canal companies, either or both, had been owned by American citizens or by citizens of any other nationality, it would not have altered in the slightest degree the action taken by this Government. Our concern was to get the canal property which was owned by the French Company, and to see that the title was clear. Our transactions were carried on openly, and were published in detail, and we dealt solely (so far as the interests of the old Panama Company were concerned) with the liquidator appointed by the proper French governmental body, the Civil Tribunal of the Seine, and in accordance with the decree of this same tribunal, with the New Panama Canal Company, which also went into liquidation upon the sale to the United States. All our transactions were carried on openly, and were published in detail.

The distribution of our payment of $40,000,000 follows the award of arbitrators chosen by the new company and the liquidator, authorized by the decree of this same Civil Tribunal of the Seine, and providing for a determination of the proportionate division between the new and old companies. We paid the money through the New York banking house of Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Company, acting as fiscal agents of this Government, into the Bank of France in Paris. The receipts and accounts of our Treasury Department show the payment of the money into the Bank of France and account for the money being paid over to the liquidator appointed by the Civil Tribunal of the Seine and to the New Panama Canal Company of France, the proportion of the forty million dollars being 128,600,000 francs to the liquidator of the old company and 77,400,000 francs to the New Panama Canal Company of France in liquidation. In these payments we followed to the letter the decree of the governmental tribunal of France which had the authority to make such a decree, the Civil Tribunal of the Seine. We had neither desire nor authority to go behind this decree of this proper governmental body, as all the conflicting rights of the security-holders of both companies had been settled by the decree of said court by ratification of the arbitration which resulted in that division.

I wish to make as clear as possible, and as emphatic as possible, the statement that we did not have anything to do with the distribution of a dollar

of the $40,000,000 we paid as regards any stockholder or bondholder of the French Companies, save that we followed out the award of the arbitrators appointed in accordance with the decree of the French court which had dealt with the subject in awarding a certain proportion to the old company and a certain proportion to the new company. Any question concerning the stockholders, bondholders, or other beneficiaries of the proceeds of sale was purely a question for the Civil Tribunal of the Seine, the French governmental body, with which this Nation had nothing whatever to do.

Under these circumstances there was not the slightest need for Mr. Cromwell to give any information on the subject of the companies for which he had been counsel. This Government has no concern with Mr. Cromwell's relation to these companies, or either of them, or with the amount of his professional compensation; it was not the affair of this Government to inquire who were the security holders of the companies. Nevertheless, Mr. Cromwell, of his own accord, has submitted to me, together with a copy of his statement published on the 11th instant, and which I transmit herewith, a full list of the stockholders of the New Panama Canal Company of France on January 15, 1900 (numbering over 6,000), and a list of all stockholders who were present at a special meeting of the company held February 28, 1902, immediately after the cable offer of the company was made to the United States (January 9-11, 1902), to accept the

appraisement of $40,000,000 made by the Isthmian Canal Commission, and to sell for said sum the Panama Canal, concessions, and other property, and the shares of the Panama Railroad Company. He has also furnished me a certified copy of the final report of the liquidator of the old company, which was filed on June 25th last and formally approved by the Civil Tribunal of the Seine, together with a summary account prepared and signed by said liquidator as late as the 24th ultimo. I also transmit a translation of the two resolutions, with the vote upon them, adopted at a meeting of the stockholders of the new company held on April 23, 1904, for the purpose of finally ratifying the sale.

All these documents I herewith transmit as a part of this message. It appears from them that the creditors of the old company number 226,296 parties who have received dividends out of the funds in the hands of the liquidator, who, in his letter, states that in this present month of December the second and last distribution to the creditors will be begun, and that the average dividend heretofore paid to each individual was 782 francs, or $156. No payment whatever was or will be made upon the stock of the old company, as it was worthless from the day De Lesseps failed, and this cuts out from consideration all misleading statements regarding a possible purchase by anybody of the stock of the old Panama Canal Company. It has not received, and will not receive, a penny. Even upon the bonded indebtedness the dividend, I am

thus informed, will amount, in the aggregate, to only about ten per centum. It likewise plainly appears that this distribution by the liquidator of the old company has been openly conducted at his office in Paris, No. 50 Rue Etienne Marcel, where all the receipts, accounts, and records of his payments are on file.

The New Panama Canal Company of France is in liquidation. As the accompanying papers set forth, this liquidated company received as its proportion of the $40,000,000 the sum of 77,400,000 francs, and this amount was distributed by the liquidation in three payments through four leading banks of Paris, covering a period of the past four years, and to shareholders numbering about 6,000. Every step of the transaction was not only taken publicly, but was, contemporaneously therewith, advertised in the legal and financial papers of France, and the banks making the payments took proper receipts from all the parties to whom payments were made, as is customary in such cases.

The capital of the New Panama Canal Company of France was 65,000,000 francs, and the distribution thus made amounted to about 130 francs on each share of 100 francs. No dividends were paid during the ten years of the company's existence. It therefore resulted that the shareholders only recovered their original investment with annual interest of about three per cent.

The accounts and records of this liquidation, which was concluded in June last, are on deposit

with the Crédit Lyonnaise of Paris as a proper custodian of the same, appointed upon such liquidation. Recently a request was made by a private individual to inspect the records of these payments, but answer was made by the custodians that they saw no proper reason for granting such request by a stranger, and, inasmuch as there is not the slightest ground for suspicion of any bad faith in the transaction, it hardly seems worth while to make the request; but if the Congress desires, I have no doubt that on the request of our Ambassador in Paris, the lists of individuals will be shown him.

As a matter of fact, there is nothing whatever, in which this Government is interested, to investigate about this transaction. So far as this Government is concerned, every step of the slightest importance has been made public by its Executive, and every step taken in France has there been made public by the proper officials.

The Congress took the action it did take after the most minute and exhaustive examination and discussion, and the Executive carried out the direction of the Congress to the letter. Every act of this Government, every act for which this Government had the slightest responsibility, was in pursuance of the act of the Congress here, and following out the decree of the Civil Tribunal of the Seine in France.

Furthermore, through the entirely voluntary act of Mr. Cromwell, I am now able to present to you full information as to these actions in France with which this Government did not have any concern,

and which are set forth in the accompanying papers.

It may be well to recall that the New Panama Canal Company of France did not itself propose or fix the figure $40,000,000 as the valuation of the canal and railroad properties. That sum was first fixed by our Isthmian Canal Commission in its reports to the Congress after two years of investigation and personal inspection of all the properties and work already done, whereby the properties and the work done were in detail appraised at that sum as their value to the United States. The French company steadily refused for over two years to make any offer whatever in answer to the many written requests of the Isthmian Canal Commission; and when its president did approach the question of price, it was on the basis of $100,000,000. Later, under conditions not necessary now to rehearse, the company, by cable, accepted the appraisement of $40,000,000 made by our Commission. This Government, therefore, acquired all the properties and concessions, both of canal and railroad, at its own valuation and price, the Congress approving the price, and authorizing the expenditure of the money, after the most exhaustive examination and discussion.

I transmit herewith lists of the documents in the possession of the Department of State, the Department of Justice, and the Department of War, so that, if the Congress sees fit, it may direct that they be printed. They are, and always have been, open to the examination of any Member of the Congress.

There is no object in printing them, but there is also no objection to printing them, save that it is a useless expense.

I also transmit a list of the documents furnished by Mr. Cromwell.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
December 15, 1908.

APPENDIX.

HOT SPRINGS, VA.,
November 29, 1908.

THE PRESIDENT.

SIR: The Indianapolis "News," not only during the campaign, but even after its close, has been repeatedly and continually making serious charges against your Administration as well as against Mr. Taft in connection with the Panama purchase, as, for example, the following:

"THE PANAMA MATTER.

"The campaign is over and the people will have to vote to-morrow without any official knowledge concerning the Panama Canal deal. It has been charged that the United States bought from American citizens for $40,000,000 property that cost those citizens only $12,000,000. Mr. Taft was Secretary of War at the time the negotiation was closed. There is no doubt that the Government paid $40,000,000 for the property. But who got the money? We are not to know. The Adminis-

tration and Mr. Taft do not think it right that the people should know. The President's brother-in-law is involved in the scandal, *but he has nothing to say.* The candidate's brother has been charged with being a member of the syndicate. He has, it is true, denied it. *But he refuses to appeal to the evidence, all of which is in the possession of the Administration and wholly inaccessible to outsiders.* For weeks this scandal has been before the people. The records are in Washington, and they are public records. But the people are not to see them—till after election, if then."

Even after the election this has been continued, it being said that Mr. Taft's "weakness" in Indiana (where he ran many thousands ahead of any other Republican candidate) was due in great measure to this alleged scandal, and as late as November 18th another editorial appears which I enclose. What are the facts, may I ask, in regard to these charges? Where are these "inaccessible" records? When did they come into possession of the Government, and what do they contain? If the statements of the "News" are true, our people ought to know it; if they are not true, they ought to have some just means of estimating what credit should be given in other matters to a journal which thus disseminates falsehoods.

Yours, faithfully,

(Signed) Wm. Dudley Foulke.

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON,
December 1, 1908.

MY DEAR MR. FOULKE: I have received your letter of the 29th ultimo and have read it in connection with your previous letters enclosing quotations from the Indianapolis "News," a paper edited by Mr. Delavan Smith. As Mr. Smith certainly knew that all the statements he made were false, both as to this Panama matter and as to the other matters of which you enclosed me clippings, and inasmuch, therefore, as the exposure of the falsity will not affect his future statements, I am not very clear what good will result from such exposure. But inasmuch as you evidently earnestly desire some answer to be made, and inasmuch as you say that some reputable people appear to believe the falsehoods of the "News" and Mr. Smith, and inasmuch as you seem to think that his falsehoods as regards the Panama matter are the most prominent, I will answer them.

The "News" states in one of its issues that probably some of the documents dealing with the matter have been destroyed. This is false. Not one has been destroyed. It states that the last documents were sent over in June of this year, the object of this particular falsehood being, apparently, to connect the matter in some way with the nomination of Mr. Taft. As a matter of fact, the last papers that we have received of any kind were sent over to us in May, 1904, and they have been accessible to every human being who cared to look at them ever since,

and are accessible now. Any reputable man within or without the Congress, Republican or Democrat, has now and always has had the opportunity to examine any of these documents. You quote the "News" as stating that "the people have no official knowledge concerning the Panama Canal deal." The fact is that the people have had the most minute official knowledge; that every important step in the transaction and every important document have been made public in communications to the Congress and through the daily press, and the whole matter has been threshed over in all its details again and again and again.

The "News" gives currency to the charge that "the United States bought from American citizens for forty million dollars property that cost these citizens only twelve million dollars." The statement is false. The United States did not pay a cent of the forty million dollars to any American citizen. The "News" says that there is no doubt that the Government paid forty million dollars for the property, and continues—"But who got the money? We are not to know. The Administration and Mr. Taft do not think it right that the people should know." Really, this is so ludicrous as to make one feel a little impatient at having to answer it. The fact has been officially published again and again that the Government paid forty million dollars, and that it paid this forty million dollars direct to the French Government, getting the receipt of the liquidator appointed by the French Government to receive the

same. The United States Government has not the slightest knowledge as to the particular individuals among whom the French Government distributed the sum. This was the business of the French Government. The mere supposition that any American received from the French Government a "rake off" is too absurd to be discussed. It is an abominable falsehood, and it is a slander not against the American Government but against the French Government.

The "News" continues, saying that "The President's brother-in-law is involved in the scandal, but he has nothing to say." The President's brother-in-law was involved in no scandal. Mr. Delavan Smith and the other people who repeated this falsehood lied about the President's brother-in-law; but why the fact that Mr. Smith lied should be held to involve Mr. Robinson in a "scandal" is difficult to understand. The scandal affects no one but Mr. Smith; and his conduct has been not merely scandalous but infamous. Mr. Robinson had not the slightest connection of any kind, sort, or description at any time or under any circumstances with the Panama matter. Neither did Mr. Charles Taft. The "News" says that Mr. Taft was a member of the "syndicate." So far as I know there was no syndicate; there certainly was no syndicate in the United States that to my knowledge had any dealings with the Government, directly or indirectly; and inasmuch as there was no syndicate, Mr. Taft naturally could not belong to it. The "News" demands that

Mr. Taft "appeal to the evidence," by which it means what it calls "the records"—that is, the mass of papers, which are stored in the War Department, save such as, because of their technical character and their usefulness in the current work of the canal, it has been found advisable to send to the Isthmus.

All of these documents that possessed any importance as illustrating any feature of the transaction have already been made public. There remains a great mass of documents of little or no importance which the administration is entirely willing to have published, but which because of their mass and pointlessness, nobody has ever cared to publish. Any reputable man can have full access to these documents. If you or Mr. Swift, or Mr. Booth Tarkington, or Mr. George Ade—in short, if any reputable man—will come on here, he shall have free access to the documents and can look over everything for himself. Congress can have them all printed if it wishes; but no Congressman has ever so far intimated any desire that this should be done; I suppose because to print such a mass of documents would be a great expense, and, moreover, an entirely useless expense, unless, which is not the case, there was some object in printing them.

Now, my dear Mr. Foulke, I have answered in detail your questions and the statements of the News. You are quite welcome to print my answer; but I must frankly add that I don't think any good will come from doing so. Mr. Delavan Smith is a conspicuous offender against the laws of honesty

and truthfulness; but he does not stand alone. He occupies, for instance, the same evil eminence with such men as Mr. Laffan of the New York "Sun," editorials of whose paper you or others have from time to time called to my attention, just as you have called to my attention these editorials of the Indianapolis "News." I never see an editorial in any of these or similar papers unless for some reason it is sent to me by you or by some one else; and of the editorials thus sent me there is hardly one which does not contain some wilful and deliberate perversion of the truth. For example, I have just made public the following statement concerning a tissue of utterly false statements which appeared in Mr. Laffan's paper, the "Sun":

"As the New York 'Sun' story entitled 'Roosevelt and Prairie Oil' has seemed to deceive a number of people, the following statement is made public about it:

"As soon as the story was brought to President Roosevelt's attention he not only called for reports concerning the statements from the Department of Justice and the Department of the Interior, but also communicated with ex-Secretary Hitchcock so as to be sure that the President's recollection was not at fault. The story is false in every particular, from beginning to end. Not only is there no such report in the Department of Justice and never has been, but no such report was ever made. In granting the franchise of the Prairie Oil and Gas Company the President simply approved the recommendation of

Secretary Hitchcock submitted to him precisely as all other recommendations were submitted. Moreover, in every case referring to the granting of franchises or the adoption of regulations as regards oil and gas franchises in Oklahoma and the Indian Territory, the President approved the recommendation of Secretary Hitchcock, with the exception of one small and unimportant grant to a Delaware Indian to whom the Delaware Indians, in recognition of eight years of service to the tribe, had voted in council a fee of $50,000, which he had declined to accept, and who was given twice the usual amount of land. The statement about the alleged promise to a western Senator is as ridiculous a falsehood as the rest of the story."

The fact is that these particular newspapers, habitually and continually and as a matter of business, practice every form of mendacity known to man, from the suppression of the truth and the suggestion of the false, to the lie direct. Those who write or procure others to write these articles are engaged in the practice of mendacity for hire; and surely there can be no lower form of gaining a livelihood. Whether they are paid by outsiders to say what is false, or whether their profit comes from the circulation of the falsehoods, is a matter of small consequence. It is utterly impossible to attempt to answer all of their falsehoods. When any given falsehood is exposed, they simply repeat it and circulate another. If they were mistaken in the facts, if they possessed in their make-up any shred of honesty, it

would be worth while to set them right. But there is no question at all as to any "mistake" or "misunderstanding" on their part. They state what they either know to be untrue, or could by the slightest inquiry find out to be untrue.

I doubt if they themselves remember their own falsehoods for more than a very brief period; and I doubt still more whether anybody else does. Under these circumstances it seems hardly worth while to single out for special mention one or two given falsehoods or one particular paper, the moral standard of which is as low as, but no lower than, that of certain other papers. Of course now and then I am willing to denounce a given falsehood, as, for instance, as regards this case of the Indianapolis "News," or the case I have quoted of the New York "Sun," simply because it appears that some worthy people are misled or puzzled by the direct shamelessness of the untruth. But ordinarily I do not and can not pay heed to these falsehoods. If I did I would not be able to do my work. My plan has been to go ahead, to do the work, and to let these people and those like them yell; and then to trust with abiding confidence to the good sense of the American people in the assured conviction that the yells will die out, the falsehoods be forgotten, and the work remain.

Therefore, as far as I am concerned I would rather make no answer whatever in this case. But I have much confidence in your judgment, and if you feel that these men ought to be exposed, why

you are welcome to publish this letter. There is no higher and more honorable calling than that of the men connected with an upright, fearless, and truthful newspaper; no calling in which a man can render greater service to his fellow-countrymen. The best and ablest editors and writers in the daily press render a service to the community which can hardly be paralleled by the service rendered by the best and ablest of the men in public life, or of the men in business. But the converse of this proposition is also true. The most corrupt financiers, the most corrupt politicians, are no greater menace to this country than the newspaper men of the type I have above discussed. Whether they belong to the yellow press or to the purchased press, whatever may be the stimulating cause of their slanderous mendacity, and whatever the cloak it may wear, matters but little. In any event they represent one of the potent forces for evil in the community.

Yours, very truly,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE,
Richmond, Ind.

December 8, 1908.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Mr. * * * is trying to look into that Panama Canal transaction, and he has asked me for information that I am not able to furnish. I do not know whether it can be furnished at all, but if it can be I suppose you would know more

about it than any one else. He wants to get at the stock books of the Panama Canal companies, old and new, if possible, to find out the votes by which the stockholders agreed to the various transactions with the United States Government. Did this Government obtain those stock books, or any records which would show who the stockholders were? If not, have you any idea where we could obtain any information about such records?

Sincerely yours,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. P. C. KNOX,
United States Senate.

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
COMMITTEE ON RULES,
December 8.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: This Government did not get the stock books of either the old or new Panama Canal company. We did not buy the corporations or their stocks; we only bought the property. We had no dealings with the old company at all. That company and the new company adjusted their equities in the French courts. All I cared for was to see that they did adjust them in such a way as to protect this Government. In the absence of any suggestion of irregularity—and there was no such suggestion—it was a matter of indifference to the United States who owned the stock of the new company. The only question was, did we want the

property at the price. Congress decided that we did, and all you had to do was to determine if you could get a good title to it, and then go ahead and make the purchase. If there was any question as to our desire for the property at the price depending upon the personnel of the stockholders, that was one for the Congress, which decided that we would take it. You executed the law directing the purchase, and that is all there is to it so far as you are concerned.

My recollection is that the final ratification of the sale was almost unanimous by the stockholders of the new company; not more than four or five small dissenting votes.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) P. C. Knox.

December 8, 1908.

My Dear Mr. Cromwell: A friend of mine has asked me for certain facts about the Panama Canal transaction, as to which I should be obliged for any information you can give me.

Is there any way of getting at the stock books of the Panama Canal companies, old and new, or any official record of the votes of the stockholders on the different proposals made to them for entering into agreement with the United States for the sale of their rights in Panama?

Did the United States Government ever get possession of any of these data? If not, can you tell where they can be obtained, if in private posses-

sion here in America, or where they can be looked up in France?

With regards, sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

WILLIAM NELSON CROMWELL, Esq.,
49 Wall Street, New York.

[Mr. Cromwell, in reply, sent a copy of the following statement.]

Mr. William Nelson Cromwell, at his office, to-day authorized the following statement:

"My attention has been called to a statement issued by the editor of the Indianapolis 'News' in which he attempts to reply to the charge made by President Roosevelt that certain statements made in the Indianapolis 'News,' both before and since the recent election and relating to the purchase of the Panama Canal by the United States, were false and untrue."

The President said:

"The 'News' gives currency to the charge that 'the United States bought from American citizens for $40,000,000 property that cost these citizens only $12,000,000.' The statement is false. The United States did not pay a cent of the $40,000,000 to any American citizen, etc."

From the statement issued in reply by the editor of the "News" I quote the following:

"The only man who paid any attention to them (that is, the criticisms referred to, etc.) was Mr.

Charles P. Taft, who did deny that he was in any way related to the affair. We had no word from the President or Mr. Taft. The other men, such as Cromwell and Morgan, who were believed to have full information in regard to the business, said nothing."

And he attempts to justify the publication of the false statements appearing in his paper by saying that they "were based largely on statements of the New York 'World,' criticisms which were made over and over again during the campaign, were utterly ignored until to-day."

The reply of the editor of the "News" furnishes another proof of the justice of the President's characterizations, for in the very journal under whose sheets it now takes refuge, namely, in the New York "World" of October 3, 1908, appears an explicit and unqualified denial by me of the story referred to and in which I used the following language:

"We may expect during a heated political contest all kinds of stories which are not worthy of notice, but this one I wish to denounce in the strongest terms as a lying fabrication without a shadow of truth in it. Neither I nor any one allied with me, either directly or indirectly, at any time or in any place in America or abroad, ever bought, sold, dealt in, or ever made a penny of profit out of any stocks, bonds, or other securities of either the old Panama Canal Company or the New Panama Canal Company, or ever received for the same a single dollar

of the forty millions paid by the United States. I make this the most sweeping statement that language can convey.

"As everybody connected with the affair knows, I abstained from receiving the forty millions in my own hands at Washington or New York as the general counsel of the company, and myself arranged for the payment of the entire forty millions direct from the Treasury of the United States through the bankers of the Government into the Bank of France at Paris to the credit of the liquidators of the two companies. There it remained subject to the order of the liquidators until distributed by them to the hundreds of thousands of beneficiaries, and not one dollar of it ever came to me or any one in anywise connected with me. Of course I do not refer to our regular compensation as counsel."

I wish to call attention to the fact upon the first day of the hearings before the Committee on Interoceanic Canals of the Senate of the United States in February, 1906, I voluntarily made an explicit and detailed statement showing how the $40,000,000 was paid by the United States through Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. as their agents to the Bank of France at Paris for account of the New Panama Canal Company, and also explaining the subsequent payment of the full amount to the liquidators of the New Panama Canal Company and to the liquidator of the old Panama Canal Company, who in turn distributed the same to their respective stock and

bond holders, numbering hundreds of thousands of persons.

I further submitted to the Senate Committee, with the permission of the Panama Government, a detailed statement of the disposition by the Republic of Panama of the $10,000,000 paid by the United States to Panama in 1904, accounting for the payment of the whole amount and showing the investments and disposition by the Panama Government of every dollar.

Upon the same public inquiry, I further stated with reference to the proposed Americanization of the Panama Canal Company in the year 1899 and the proposed formation of a syndicate for that purpose in that year, that the proposed plan "never matured into anything. It was never consummated either by subscription or by assent, and it is obsolete and an impracticable thing—proved so to be. It has no life or force of being, did not exist and never has existed, and is as dead as a doornail. That was a fruitless suggestion of the company which came to naught and under which I acted as their counsel solely."

The testimony taken by the Senate committee is a public record and was available to the editors of the "News" and the "World," and had either of them been as interested in publishing the truth as they were to create a political sensation, they doubtless would have taken the pains to have published the above facts which I quote.

I again denounce the statement wherever pub-

lished or by whomsoever made that there was a syndicate formed by American citizens to purchase the Panama Canal and to sell it to the United States as absolutely and unqualifiedly false and untrue. The Americanization plan was an entirely different matter. It was a project proposed by the company to the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House and to President McKinley on February 27, 1899, and was formally authorized by the board of directors October 10, 1899, subject to the necessary approval of the stockholders. The initial steps were taken by me in October, November, and December, 1899, and a company formed for the purpose under the laws of New Jersey for carrying out the instructions of my client. While the certificate of incorporation of the Panama Canal Company of America was filed in New Jersey, no capital stock, except the nominal capital of $5,000 set forth in the certificate of incorporation was ever issued and nothing further was ever done by that company, as the records in the office of the secretary of state of New Jersey will show. The project adopted by the board of directors failed of approval by the stockholders in December, 1899; the board of directors in consequence resigned in a body, and the plan then and there forever ended. The period covered by this project was less than three months; not a dollar was paid in under it nor a transaction conducted by the New Jersey company for the reason stated. The plan was dead and abandoned over two years before the company finally yielded

to the pressure of the American Government to sell at $40,000,000.

Now with regard to the distribution of the $40,000,000, it has been made to appear in newspaper comments that there was some mystery connected with the disposition of this money. There is no mystery and never has been. The fund in question paid into the Bank of France by the United States produced the net sum of 206,000,000 francs, the sum of 128,600,000 francs being placed to the credit of the liquidator of the old Panama Canal Company, and 77,400,000 francs to the credit of the New Panama Canal Company in liquidation, and by said bank paid over to said liquidators, respectively, pursuant to a decision of arbitration at Paris February 11, 1902, confirmed by the Civil Tribunal of the Seine.

To the Senate committee I stated that I did not know what distribution of the fund had been made and that I was in no way concerned or interested therein. That statement by me was true. I had no pecuniary interest in the canal, and it was none of my business, personally or professionally, who were the stockholders or bondholders of the company.

Since the recent publications I have made inquiries in Paris, and am informed that the distribution of these moneys is a matter of public record; that the amount received by the liquidator of the old Panama Canal Company has been distributed by him as an officer of the court to the holders of the obligations

of the old company; that these persons appeared in person at the office of the liquidator to receipt for the moneys paid to them; that they numbered 226,296, the largest number of individuals probably ever appearing in person upon a single business affair, and that the average amount paid was $156. The complete and detailed record of these payments, together with the names and receipts of every person to whom payment was made and the amount of such payment, is in the hands of the liquidator at his offices at 50 Rue Etienne Marcel, Paris, which is in a prominent and frequented part of the city, near the Bourse, easily found by anyone desirous of doing so.

As to the fund paid to the New Panama Canal Company: That company at the time of the sale of its property to the United States went into liquidation, and I am likewise recently informed that the distribution of its assets amongst its shareholders was made through four leading banks of Paris, the Crédit Lyonnaise, Société Générale, Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris, and Crédit Industriel et Commercial, in three separate payments (July 15, 1904, February 3, 1908, and June 15, 1908), covering a period of four years, and was completed in June, 1908. This liquidation took place at the regular offices of the company, 19 Rue Louis le Grand, Paris, readily found by anybody who honestly sought to find them. The facts concerning the liquidation are a matter of public report to the shareholders of the company (this company has no

bond issues) and were the subject of official publications from time to time covering a period of four years in the official papers under direction of the courts. The amount so paid to the shareholders of the New Panama Canal Company, as I am informed by the liquidators, is approximately 129.78 francs on each share of the par value of 100 francs—that is, they received back only the capital originally invested with interest, less than 3 per cent per annum. I am informed by the liquidators that the shareholders to whom distribution was made numbered 6,796.

Neither I nor my law firm nor anyone connected with me ever owned, directly or indirectly, any share of stock in the New Panama Canal Company, nor any of the obligations or securities of the old Panama Canal Company, nor ever bought or sold any of the shares or securities of either one of said companies, nor were directly or indirectly interested in them.

I am also positive that not a man in public life in America, in or out of Congress, ever had the least pecuniary interest in the Panama Canal.

I do not know and never have known of any American citizen who has ever dealt in any of the shares of the New Panama Canal Company or the shares or bonds of the old company.

A further instance of the unwarranted attitude of the Indianapolis "News" and of other journals repeating the statements is furnished with respect to Mr. C. P. Taft and Mr. Douglas Robinson. In the

same issue of the "World" (October 3, 1908) I said:

"The mention of the names of Mr. Taft and Mr. Douglas Robinson is another evidence that this is a fake story. No member of the Taft family or Mr. Douglas Robinson ever had the remotest connection with Panama Canal matters, directly or indirectly, and I never saw one of them on this subject before the United States acquired the canal. I never saw Mr. Douglas Robinson in my life. The names of Cæsar and Napoleon might as well have been used, for it could not be more impossible. All this except the dragging in of new names was threshed out before the United States Senate committee by the late Senator Morgan. Out of respect for the dead, I refrain from comment upon that proceeding, but I feel warranted in saying that it was pursued with unparalleled energy and skill. It was, however, completely exploded and refuted by the facts in the case, and ended in complete discomfiture. There is not a word of truth in it, and I would not notice it at this time if it did not concern others."

The introduction of these gentlemen in the Panama affair is like the creation of a character in a work of fiction. They did not exist in the sense of having any relation to the canal matter. Neither of them ever had the least pecuniary interest in the business. It is a matter of public history that the President-elect never had any official connection with the canal until months after it had been acquired

by this Government. He was in the Philippines as governor during all the years in question.

Equally perverted is the fact concerning the records and accounts of the two companies. They were not delivered to the United States because they were records of the companies' transactions with which the United States had no concern. But as a matter of fact the records and files of the liquidation of the old company are in the hands of the liquidators at 50 Rue Etienne Marcel, Paris, and those of the new company were, on the final payment in June, 1908, deposited with the Crédit Lyonnaise, Boulevard des Italiens, to be preserved, in accordance with French custom, for a period of twenty years. That corporation has the custody of the records, as is well known to all parties in interest.

The whole story of Americans or some American syndicate buying up the Panama Canal securities at a low price, or at any price, and then turning them in upon liquidation at a profit is a fiction and a concoction. The money of the United States went to France and was distributed to the hundreds of thousands of foreign owners, none of whom, so far as I know, were Americans.

AT THE CORCORAN ART GALLERY, AT THE SAINT-GAUDENS EXHIBITION, ON TUESDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 15, 1908

Augustus Saint-Gaudens was a very great sculptor. This makes all the world his debtor; but in a peculiar sense it makes his countrymen his debtors.

In any nation those citizens who possess the pride in their nationality, without which they cannot claim to be good citizens, must feel a particular satisfaction in the deeds of every man who adds to the sum of worthy national achievement. The great nations of antiquity, of the middle ages, and of modern times were and are great in each several case, not only because of the collective achievements of each people as a whole, but because of the sum of the achievements of the men of special eminence; and this whether they excelled in war craft or statecraft, as roadmakers or cathedral builders, as men of letters, men of art, or men of science. The field of effort is almost limitless; and preeminent success in any part of it is not only a good thing for humanity as a whole, but should be especially prized by the nation to which the man achieving the success belongs.

Particularly should this be so with us in America. As is natural, we have won our greatest success in the field of an abounding material achievement; we have conquered a continent; we have laced it with railways; we have dotted it with cities. Quite unconsciously, and as a mere incident to this industrial growth, we have produced some really marvellous artistic effects. Take, for instance, the sight offered the man who travels on the railroad from Pittsburg through the line of iron and steel towns which stretch along the Monongahela. I shall never forget a journey I thus made a year or so ago. The morning was misty, with showers of rain. The flames

from the pipes and doors of the blast furnaces flickered red through the haze. The huge chimneys and machinery were of strange and monstrous shapes. From the funnels the smoke came saffron, orange, green, and blue, like a landscape of Turner's. What a chance for an artist like Whistler! Again, some day people will realize that one effect of the "skyscrapers" in New York, of the massing of buildings of enormous size and height on an island surrounded by waterways, has been to produce a city of singularly imposing type and of unexampled picturesqueness. A great artist will yet arise to bring before our eyes the powerful irregular sky-line of the great city at sunset, or in the noonday brightness, and, above all, at night, when the lights flash from the dark, mountainous mass of buildings, from the stately bridges that span the East River, and from the myriad craft that blaze as they ply to and fro across the waters.

But this is incidental. Our success in the field of pure art, as in the fields of pure literature and pure science, has been behind the success we have achieved in providing, by the practical application of art and science, for bodily comfort, bodily welfare, and for the extraordinary industrial mechanism which forms the framework and skeleton of our modern civilization. The twilight of letters continues; but much is now being done in the field of art; and Saint-Gaudens was an artist who can hardly be placed too high.

Before touching on his larger feats, a word as to

something of less, but yet of real importance. Saint-Gaudens gave us for the first time a beautiful coinage, a coinage worthy of this country, a coinage not yet properly appreciated, but up to which both the official and the popular mind will in the end grow. The first few thousands of the Saint-Gaudens gold coins are, I believe, more beautiful than any coins since the days of the Greeks, and they achieve their striking beauty because Saint-Gaudens not only possessed a perfect mastery in the physical address of his craft, but also a daring and original imagination. His full length figure of Liberty holding the torch is his own conception. His flying eagle and standing eagle are each in its own way equally good. His head of Liberty is not only a strikingly beautiful head, but characteristically and typically American in that for the headdress he has used one of the few really typical, and at the same time really beautiful, pieces of wearing gear ever produced independently on this continent—the bonnet of eagle plumes. The comments so frequently made upon this eagle-feather headdress illustrate curiously the exceedingly conventional character of much of our criticism and the frequent inability to understand originality until it has won its place. Most of the criticism was based upon the assumption that only an Indian could wear a feather headdress, and that the head of Liberty ought to have a Phrygian cap, or Greek helmet, or some classic equivalent. Now, of course, this was nonsense. There is no more reason why a feather headdress should always be

held to denote an Indian than why a Phrygian cap should always be held to denote a Phrygian. The Indian in his own way finely symbolizes freedom and a life of liberty. It is idle to insist that the head or figure of Liberty shall only appear in the hackneyed and conventional trappings which conventional and unoriginal minds have gradually grown to ascribe to her. A great artist with the boldness of genius could see that the American Liberty should, if possible, have something distinctively American about her; and it was an addition to the sum of the art of all nations that this particular figure of Liberty should not be a mere slavish copy of all other figures of Liberty. So Saint-Gaudens put the American Liberty in an American headdress. Up to the time of this coin the most beautiful American coin was the small gold coin which carried the Indian's head with the feather headdress, and we now again have the smaller gold coinage with the Indian's head; but Saint-Gaudens's was the head of Liberty, the head of the American Liberty, and it was eminently fitting that such a head should carry a very beautiful and a purely and characteristically American headdress.

So much for the Saint-Gaudens coins. In dealing with his larger work I can, of course, speak only as a layman. But the work of a very great artist must be judged by the impression it makes not only upon other artists but also upon laymen. I know well the danger of passing judgment about the great men of

the present, for any such judgment must be made with full knowledge that it may be falsified when things are seen through the perspective of the ages. Yet I can not but hazard a guess that Saint-Gaudens's works will stand in the forefront among the masterpieces of the sculptors of the greatest periods and the greatest peoples. He worked among his own people, and his work was of his own time; but yet it was of all time, for in his subject he ever seized and portrayed that which was undying. His genius had that lofty quality of insight which enables a man to see to the root of things, to discard all trappings that are not essential, and to grasp close at hand in the present the beauty and majesty which in most men's eyes are dimmed until distance has softened the harsh angles and blotted out the trivial and the unlovely. He had, furthermore, that peculiar kind of genius in which a soaring imagination is held in check by a self-mastery which eliminates all risk of the fantastic and the overstrained. He knew when to give the most complete rein to this imagination. He also knew when to turn to the men and women about him, and to produce his great effects by portraying them as they actually were—and yet as a little more than they seemed to all but the most clear-sighted, because under his hand the soul within appeared, no less than the man's physical being.

Take his extraordinary statue of General Sherman. There never was a more typically democratic general than gaunt, grizzled old Tecumseh Sherman,

homely and simple in all his ways, and yet with the courage of tempered steel. When I heard that Saint-Gaudens intended to have this typically modern democratic soldier portrayed as riding on horseback with the horse led by a winged Victory, I did not believe it possible that even Saint-Gaudens could succeed. I was afraid we should have another of the innumerable examples of that folly which in one form puts Washington in a toga, or Louis XIV, with his peruke, in a Roman corselet; the folly which in another form portrays Graces, Muses, or Angels, obviously unreal and irrelevant, disporting themselves around an obviously fleshly hero. But Saint-Gaudens, greatly daring, produced a wonderful work of art. His Victory is one of the finest figures of its kind, and the plain, grim, rugged old soldier riding alongside is so wrought that, in addition to the General, whom all men knew, those who look upon the statue must also see the soul of the man himself, and the soul of the people whose high and eager hope dwelt in him when he marched to battle.

In the figure on the Adams grave and in the figure called "Silence" there was nothing to hamper the play of the artist's thought; and he produced two striking creations of pure imagination. The strange, shrouded, sitting woman, the draped woman who stands, impress the beholder with thoughts he can not fathom, with the weird awe of unearthly things; of that horizon ever surrounding mankind, where the shadowy and the unreal veil

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from view whatever there is beyond, whether of splendor or of gloom.

In Farragut, on the other hand, we see the fighting admiral as he stood on his quarterdeck, the master of men, the man who feared neither the open death above nor the hidden death beneath; who fearlessly tried wood against iron, and flung the black ships against the forts; but who had the power and the foresight, as well as the courage, that compelled events to do his bidding. His Farragut statue is Farragut himself; and, in addition, it is the statue of the great sea captain of all times and of any age.

Greatest of all is his Lincoln. Lincoln was the plain man of the people, the people's President; homely, gaunt, ungainly; and this homely figure, clad in ill-fitting clothes of the ugly modern type, held one of the loftiest souls that ever burned within the breast of mankind. It is Saint-Gaudens's peculiar quality that, without abating one jot of the truthfulness of portrayal of the man's outside aspect, yet makes that outside aspect of little weight because of what is shown of the soul within. We look at Saint-Gaudens's mighty statue of mighty Lincoln, and we are stirred to awe and wonder and devotion for the great man who, in strength and sorrow, bore the people's burdens through the four years of our direst need, and then, standing as high priest between the horns of the altar, poured out his own lifeblood for the Nation whose life he had saved.

In this quality of showing the soul Saint-Gaudens's figures are more impressive than the most beautiful figures that have come down from the art of ancient Greece; for their unequaled beauty is of the form merely, and Saint-Gaudens's is of the spirit within.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 4, 1909

To the House of Representatives:

I have received the resolution of the House of Representatives of December 17, 1908, running as follows:

"Whereas there was contained in the sundry civil appropriation bill which passed Congress at its session and became a law, a provision in reference to the employment of the Secret Service in the Treasury Department; and

"Whereas in the last annual message of the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress it was stated in reference to that provision: 'It is not too much to say that this amendment has been of benefit only, and could be of benefit only, to the criminal classes,' and it was further stated, 'The chief argument in favor of the provision was that the Congressmen did not themselves wish to be investigated by Secret Service men,' and it was further stated: 'But if this is not considered desirable a special exception could be made in the law, prohibiting the use of the Secret Service force in investigating Members of Congress.' It would be far

better to do this than to do what actually was done, and strive to prevent or at least to hamper effective action against criminals by the executive branch of the Government; and

"Whereas the plain meaning of the above words is that the majority of the Congressmen were in fear of being investigated by Secret Service men and that Congress as a whole was actuated by that motive in enacting the provision in question; and

"Whereas your committee appointed to consider these statements of the President and to report to the House can not find in the hearings before committees nor in the records of the House or Senate, any justification of this impeachment of the honor and integrity of the Congress; and

"Whereas your committee would prefer in order to make an intelligent and comprehensive report, just to the President as well as to the Congress, to have all the information which the President may have to communicate: Now, therefore,

"*Be it resolved,* That the President be requested to transmit to the House any evidence upon which he based his statements that the 'chief argument in favor of the provision was that the Congressmen did not themselves wish to be investigated by Secret Service men,' and also to transmit to the House any evidence connecting any Member of the House of Representatives of the Sixtieth Congress with corrupt action in his official capacity, and to inform the House whether he has instituted proceedings for the punishment of any such individual by the courts or

has reported any such alleged delinquencies to the House of Representatives."

I am wholly at a loss to understand the concluding portion of the resolution. I have made no charges of corruption against Congress nor against any Member of the present House. If I had proof of such corruption affecting any Member of the House in any matter as to which the Federal Government has jurisdiction, action would at once be brought, as was done in the cases of Senators Mitchell and Burton, and Representatives Williamson, Herrmann, and Driggs, at different times since I have been President. This would simply be doing my duty in the execution and enforcement of the laws without respect to persons. But I do not regard it as within the province or the duties of the President to report to the House "alleged delinquencies" of Members, or the supposed "corrupt action" of a Member "in his official capacity." The membership of the House is by the Constitution placed within the power of the House alone. In the prosecution of criminals and the enforcement of the laws the President must resort to the courts of the United States.

In the third and fourth clauses of the preamble it is stated that the meaning of my words is that "the majority of the Congressmen are in fear of being investigated by Secret Service men" and that "Congress as a whole was actuated by that motive in enacting the provision in question," and that this is an impeachment of the honor and integrity of the Con-

gress. These statements are not I think in accordance with the facts. The portion of my message referred to runs as follows:

"Last year an amendment was incorporated in the measure providing for the Sercet Service, which provided that there should be no detail from the Secret Service and no transfer therefrom. It is not too much to say that this amendment has been of benefit only, and could be of benefit only, to the criminal classes. If deliberately introduced for the purpose of diminishing the effectiveness of war against crime it could not have been better devised to this end. It forbade the practices that had been followed to a greater or less extent by the executive heads of various departments for twenty years. To these practices we owe the securing of the evidence which enabled us to drive great lotteries out of business and secure a quarter of a million of dollars in fines from their promoters. These practices have enabled us to discover some of the most outrageous frauds in connection with the theft of government land and government timber by great corporations and by individuals. These practices have enabled us to get some of the evidence indispensable in order to secure the conviction of the wealthiest and most formidable criminals with whom the Government has to deal, both those operating in violation of the anti-trust law and others. The amendment in question was of benefit to no one excepting to these criminals, and it seriously hampers the Government in the detection of crime and the securing of justice.

Moreover, it not only affects departments outside of the Treasury, but it tends to hamper the Secretary of the Treasury himself in the effort to utilize the employees of his department so as to best meet the requirements of the public service. It forbids him from preventing frauds upon the customs service, from investigating irregularities in branch mints and assay offices, and has seriously crippled him. It prevents the promotion of employees in the Secret Service, and this further discourages good effort. In its present form the restriction operates only to the advantage of the criminal, of the wrongdoer.

"The chief argument in favor of the provision was that the Congressmen did not themselves wish to be investigated by Secret Service men. Very little of such investigation has been done in the past; but it is true that the work of the Secret Service agents was partly responsible for the indictment and conviction of a Senator and a Congressman for land frauds in Oregon. I do not believe that it is in the public interest to protect criminals in any branch of the public service, and exactly as we have again and again during the past seven years prosecuted and convicted such criminals who were in the executive branch of the Government, so in my belief we should be given ample means to prosecute them if found in the legislative branch. But if this is not considered desirable a special exception could be made in the law prohibiting the use of the Secret Service force in investigating Members of the Congress. It would be far better to do this than to do what actually

was done, and strive to prevent or at least to hamper effective action against criminals by the executive branch of the Government."

A careful reading of this message will show that I said nothing to warrant the statement that "the majority of the Congressmen were in fear of being investigated by the Secret Service men," or "that Congress as a whole was actuated by that motive." I did not make any such statement in this message. Moreover I have never made any such statement about Congress as a whole, nor, with a few inevitable exceptions, about the members of Congress, in any message or article or speech. On the contrary I have always not only deprecated but vigorously resented the practice of indiscriminate attack upon Congress, and indiscriminate condemnation of all Congressmen, wise and unwise, fit and unfit, good and bad alike. No one realizes more than I the importance of co-operation between the Executive and Congress, and no one holds the authority and dignity of the Congress of the United States in higher respect than I do. I have not the slightest sympathy with the practice of judging men, for good or for ill, not on their several merits, but in a mass, as members of one particular body or one caste. To put together all men holding or who have held a particular office, whether it be the office of President, or Judge, or Senator, or Member of the House of Representatives, and to class them all, without regard to their individual differences, as good or bad, seems to me utterly indefensible; and it is equally in-

defensible whether the good are confounded with the bad in a heated and unwarranted championship of all, or in a heated and unwarranted assault upon all. I would neither attack nor defend all executive officers in a mass, whether Presidents, Governors, Cabinet officers, or officials of lower rank; nor would I attack or defend all legislative officers in a mass. The safety of free government rests very largely in the ability of the plain, everyday citizen to discriminate between those public servants who serve him well and those public servants who serve him ill. He can not thus discriminate if he is persuaded to pass judgment upon a man, not with reference to whether he is a fit or unfit public servant, but with reference to whether he is an executive or legislative officer, whether he belongs to one branch or the other of the Government.

This allegation in the resolution, therefore, must certainly be due to an entire failure to understand my message.

The resolution continues: "That the President be requested to transmit to the House any evidence upon which he based his statements that the 'chief argument in favor of the provision was that the Congressmen did not themselves wish to be investigated by Secret Service men.'" This statement, which was an attack upon no one, still less upon the Congress, is sustained by the facts.

If you will turn to the Congressional Record for May 1 last, pages 5553 to 5560, inclusive, you will find the debate on this subject. Mr. Tawney of

Minnesota, Mr. Smith of Iowa, Mr. Sherley of Kentucky, and Mr. Fitzgerald of New York, appear in this debate as the special champions of the provision referred to. Messrs. Parsons, Bennet, and Driscoll were the leaders of those who opposed the adoption of the amendment and upheld the right of the Government to use the most efficient means possible in order to detect criminals and to prevent and punish crime. The amendment was carried in the Committee of the Whole, where no votes of the individual members are recorded, so I am unable to discriminate by mentioning the members who voted for and the members who voted against the provision, but its passage, the Journal records, was greeted with applause. I am well aware, however, that in any case of this kind many Members who have no particular knowledge of the point at issue, are content simply to follow the lead of the committee which had considered the matter, and I have no doubt that many Members of the House simply followed the lead of Messrs. Tawney and Smith, without having had the opportunity to know very much as to the rights and wrongs of the question.

I would not ordinarily attempt in this way to discriminate between members of the House, but as objection has been taken to my language, in which I simply spoke of the action of the House as a whole, and as apparently there is a desire that I should thus discriminate, I will state that I think the responsibility rested on the Committee on Appropriations,

under the lead of the members whom I have mentioned.

Now as to the request of the Congress that I give the evidence for my statement that the chief argument in favor of the provision was that the Congressmen did not themselves wish to be investigated by Secret Service men.

The part of the Congressional Record to which I have referred above entirely supports this statement. Two distinct lines of argument were followed in the debate. One concerned the question whether the law warranted the employment of the Secret Service in departments other than the Treasury, and this did not touch the merits of the Service in the least. The other line of argument went to the merits of the Service, whether lawfully or unlawfully employed, and here the chief if not the only argument used was that the Service should be cut down and restricted because its members had "shadowed" or investigated members of Congress and other officers of the Government. If we examine the debate in detail it appears that most of what was urged in favor of the amendment took the form of the simple statement that the committee held that there had been a "violation of law" by the use of the Secret Service for other purposes than suppressing counterfeiting (and one or two other matters which can be disregarded), and that such language was now to be used as would effectually prevent all such "violation of law" hereafter. Mr. Tawney, for instance, says: "It was for the purpose of stopping

the use of this service in every possible way by the departments of the Government that this provision was inserted;" and Mr. Smith says: "Now, that was the only way in which any limitation could be put upon the activities of the Secret Service." Mr. Fitzgerald followed in the same vein, and by far the largest part of the argument against the employment of the Secret Service was confined to the statement that it was a "violation of law." Of course such a statement is not in any way an argument in favor of the justice of the provision. It is not an argument for the provision at all. It is simply a statement of what the gentlemen making it conceive to have been the law. There was both by implication and direct statement the assertion that it was the law, and ought to be the law, that the Secret Service should only be used to suppress counterfeiting; and that the law should be made more rigid than ever in this respect.

Incidentally I may say that in my judgment there is ample legal authority for the statement that this appropriation law to which reference was made imposes no restrictions whatever upon the use of the Secret Service men, but relates solely to the expenditure of the money appropriated. Mr. Tawney in the debate stated that he had in his possession "a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury received a few days ago" in which the Secretary of the Treasury "himself admits that the provisions under which the appropriation has been made have been violated year after year for a number of years in his

own Department." I append herewith as Appendix A the letter referred to. It makes no such admission as that which Mr. Tawney alleges. It contains on the contrary, as you will see by reading it, an "emphatic protest against any such abridgment of the rights delegated to the Secretary of the Treasury by existing law," and besides by asserting that he "is quite within his rights in thus employing the service of these agents" and that the proposed modification which Mr. Tawney succeeded in carrying through would be "distinctly to the advantage of violators of criminal statutes of the United States." I call attention to the fact that in this letter of Secretary Cortelyou to Mr. Tawney, as in my letter to the Speaker quoted below, the explicit statement is made that the proposed change will be for the benefit of the criminals, a statement which I simply reiterated in public form in my message to the Congress this year, and which is also contained in effect in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury to the Congress.

A careful reading of the Congressional Record will also show that practically the only arguments advanced in favor of the limitation proposed by Mr. Tawney's committee, beyond what may be supposed to be contained by implication in certain sentences as to "abuses" which were not specified, were those contained in the repeated statements of Mr. Sherley. Mr. Sherley stated that there had been "pronounced abuses growing out of the use of the Secret Service for purposes other than those intended," putting his

statement in the form of a question, and in the same form further stated that the "private conduct" of "Members of Congress, Senators," and others ought not to be investigated by the Secret Service, and that they should not investigate a "Member of Congress" who had been accused of "conduct unbecoming a gentleman and a Member of Congress." In addition to these assertions couched as questions, he made one positive declaration, that "This Secret Service at one time was used for the purpose of looking into the personal conduct of a Member of Congress." This argument of Mr. Sherley, the only real argument as to the merits of the question made on behalf of the Committee on Appropriations, will be found in columns 1 and 2 of page 5556 and column 1 of page 5557 of the Congressional Record. In column 1 of page 5556 Mr. Sherley refers to the impropriety of permitting the secret service men to investigate men in the departments, officers of the army and navy, and Senators and Congressmen; in column 2 he refers to officers of the navy and Members of Congress; in column 1, page 5557, he refers only to Members of Congress. His speech puts most weight on the investigation of Members of Congress.

What appears in the record is filled out and explained by an article which appeared in the Chicago Inter-Ocean of January 3, 1904, under a Washington headline, and which marked the beginning of this agitation against the Secret Service. It was a special article of about 3,000 words, written, as I

was then informed and now understand, by Mr. L. W. Busbey, at that time private secretary to the Speaker of the House. I inclose a copy of certain extracts from the article, marked Appendix B. It contained an utterly unwarranted attack on the Secret Service Division of the Treasury Department and its chief. The opening paragraph includes, for instance, statements like the following:

"He (the chief of the division) and his men are desirous of doing the secret detective work for the whole Government and are not particular about drawing the line between the lawmakers and the lawbreakers. They are ready to shadow the former as well as the latter."

Then, after saying that Congress will insist that the men shall only be used to stop counterfeiting, the article goes on:

"Congress does not intend to have a Fouché or any other kind of minister of police to be used by the executive departments against the legislative branch of the Government. It has been so used, and it is suspected that it has been so used recently. . . . The legislative branch of the Government will not tolerate the meddling of detectives, whether they represent the President, Cabinet officers, or only themselves. . . . Congressmen resented the secret interference of the secret service men, who for weeks shadowed some of the most respected members of the House and Senate. . . . When it was discovered that the secret service men were shadowing Congressmen there was a storm of

indignation at the capitol and the bureau came near being abolished and the appropriation for the suppression of counterfeiting cut off. . . . At another time the chief of the Secret Service had his men shadow Congressmen with a view to involving them in scandals that would enable the bureau to dictate to them as the price of silence . . . The secret service men have shown an inclination again to shadow members of Congress, knowing them to be lawmakers, and this is no joke. Several of the departments have asked Congress for secret funds for investigation, and the Treasury Department wants the limitation removed from the appropriation for suppressing counterfeiting. This shows a tendency toward Fouchéism and a secret watch on other officials than themselves."

At the time of this publication the work of the Secret Service, which was thus assailed, included especially the investigation of great land frauds in the West, and the securing of evidence to help the Department of Justice in the beef-trust investigations at Chicago, which resulted in successful prosecutions.

In view of Mr. Busbey's position, I have accepted the above quoted statements as fairly expressing the real meaning and animus of the attacks made in general terms on the use of the Secret Service for the punishment of criminals. Furthermore, in the performance of my duty, to endeavor to find the feelings of Congressmen on public questions of note, I have frequently discussed this particular matter

with Members of Congress; and on such occasions the reasons alleged to me for the hostility of Congress to the Secret Service, both by those who did and by those who did not share this hostility, were almost invariably the same as those set forth in Mr. Busbey's article. I may add, by the way, that these allegations as to the Secret Service are wholly without foundation in fact.

But all of this is of insignificant importance compared with the main, the real issue. This issue is simply, Does Congress desire that the Government shall have at its disposal the most efficient instrument for the detection of criminals and the prevention and punishment of crime, or does it not? The action of the House last May was emphatically an action against the interest of justice and against the interest of law-abiding people, and in its effect of benefit only to lawbreakers. I am not now dealing with motives; whatever may have been the motive that induced the action of which I speak, this was beyond all question the effect of that action. Is the House now willing to remedy the wrong?

For a long time I contented myself with endeavoring to persuade the House not to permit the wrong, speaking informally on the subject with those Members who, I believed, knew anything of the matter, and communicating officially only in the ordinary channels, as through the Secretary of the Treasury. In a letter to the Speaker on April 30, protesting against the cutting down of the appropriation vitally necessary if the Interstate Com-

merce Commission was to carry into effect the twentieth section of the Hepburn law, I added: "The provision about the employment of the Secret Service men will work very great damage to the Government in its endeavor to prevent and punish crime. There is no more foolish outcry than this against 'spies'; only criminals *need fear our detectives.*" (I inclose copy of the whole letter, marked "Appendix C." The postscript is blurred in my copybook, and two or three of the words can not be deciphered.) These methods proved unavailing to prevent the wrong. Messrs. Tawney and Smith, and their fellow members on the Appropriations Committee paid no heed to the protests; and as the obnoxious provision was incorporated in the sundry civil bill, it was impossible for me to consider or discuss it on its merits, as I should have done had it been in a separate bill. Therefore I have now taken the only method available, that of discussing it in my message to Congress; and as all efforts to secure what I regard as proper treatment of the subject without recourse to plain speaking had failed, I have spoken plainly and directly, and have set forth the facts in explicit terms.

Since 1901 the investigations covered by the Secret Service Division—under the practice which had been for many years recognized as proper and legitimate, and which had received the sanction of the highest law officers of the Government—have covered a wide range of offences against the federal law. By far the most important of these related

to the public domain, as to which there was uncovered a far-reaching and widespread system of fraudulent transactions involving both the illegal acquisition and the illegal fencing of Government land; and, in connection with both these offences, the crimes of perjury and subornation of perjury. Some of the persons involved in these violations were of great wealth and of wide political and social influence. Both their corporate associations and their political affiliations, and the lawless character of some of their employees, made the investigations not only difficult but dangerous. In Colorado one of the Secret Service men was assassinated. In Nebraska it was necessary to remove a United States attorney and a United States marshal before satisfactory progress could be made in the prosecution of the offenders.

The evidence in all these cases was chiefly secured by men trained in the Secret Service and detailed to the Department of Justice at the request of that Department and of the Department of the Interior. In the State of Nebraska alone sixty defendants were indicted; and of the thirty-two cases thus far brought to trial twenty-eight have resulted in conviction; two of the principals, Messrs. Comstock and Richards, men of wealth and wide influence, being sentenced to twelve months in jail and fined $1,500 each. The following Secret Service memorandum made in the course of a pending case illustrates the ramifications of interest with which the Government has to deal:

Charles T. Stewart, of Council Bluffs, was indicted at Omaha for conspiracy to defraud the Government of the title to public lands in McPherson County, Nebr.; also indicted for maintaining an unlawful inclosure of the public lands, and also under indictment for perjury in connection with final proof submitted by him on lands filed on by him as a homestead. In his final proof he swore that he and his family had resided on the lands in McPherson County (which are within his unlawful inclosure), when as a matter of fact his family has at all times resided in Council Bluffs, Iowa. He is engaged in the wholesale grocery business, his store being located in Omaha, in the wholesale district there. He is reputed to be quite wealthy. Stewart's attorneys are Harl & Tinley, of Council Bluffs, Iowa, who are also the attorneys at that place for the Omaha and Council Bluffs Street Railway Company, in which company Harl holds considerable stock, Stewart being also a stockholder and possibly a director of the company. He is also represented in Omaha by W. J. Connell, one of the attorneys there for the same company. Stewart is also represented in his perjury case by "Bill" Gurley, of Omaha, Nebr., who at one time was quite closely connected in a political way with the U. P. R. R. Company; Stewart is also closely associated with C. B. Hazleton, postmaster at Council Bluffs. Harl & Tinley and Hazleton are all members of the same lodge. Another close personal friend of Stewart's is Ed. Hart, alias "Water-

works" Hart, president of the Council Bluffs Water Company, and interested in the street railway. Stewart's father was interested in, and practically owned and controlled, during his lifetime, a large ranch along the U. P. R. R. in Nebraska, and did a great deal of business with that road.

Concerning this case the United States attorney at Omaha states: "There are three cases against Stewart, one for fencing, one conspiracy, one perjury, all good cases and chances of conviction good."

In connection with the Nebraska prosecution the Government has by decree secured the return to the Government of over a million acres of grazing land; in Colorado of more than 2,000 acres of mineral land, and suits are now pending involving 150,000 acres more.

All these investigations in the land cases were undertaken in consequence of Mr. Hitchcock, the then Secretary of the Interior, becoming convinced that there were extensive frauds committed in his Department; and the ramifications of the frauds were so far-reaching that he was afraid to trust his own officials to deal in thoroughgoing fashion with them. One of the Secret Service men accordingly resigned and was appointed in the Interior Department to carry on this work. The first thing he discovered was that the special agents' division or corps of detectives of the Land Office of the Interior Department was largely under the control

of the land thieves; and in consequence the investigations above referred to had to be made by Secret Service men.

If the present law, for which Messrs. Tawney, Smith, and the other gentlemen I have above mentioned are responsible, had then been in effect, this action would have been impossible, and most of the criminals would unquestionably have escaped. No more striking instance can be imagined of the desirability of having a central corps of skilled investigating agents who can at any time be assigned, if necessary in large numbers, to investigate some violation of the Federal statutes, in no matter what branch of the public service. In this particular case most of the men investigated who were public servants were in the executive branch of the Government. But in Oregon, where an enormous acreage of fraudulently alienated public land was recovered for the Government, a United States Senator, Mr. Mitchell, and a Member of the lower House, Mr. Williamson, were convicted on evidence obtained by men transferred from the Secret Service, and another Member of Congress was indicted.

From 1901 to 1904 a successful investigation of naturalization affairs was made by the Secret Service, with the result of obtaining hundreds of convictions of conspirators who were convicted of selling fraudulent papers of naturalization. (Subsequently, Congress passed a very wise law providing a special service and appropriation for the prevention of naturalization frauds; but unfor-

tunately, at the same time that the action against the Secret Service was taken, Congress also cut down the appropriation for this special service, with the result of crippling the effort to stop frauds in naturalization.) The fugitives Greene and Gaynor, implicated in a peculiarly big Government contract fraud, were located and arrested in Canada by the Secret Service, and thanks to this they have since gone to prison for their crimes.

The Secret Service was used to assist in the investigation of crimes under the peonage laws, and owing partly thereto numerous convictions were secured and the objectionable practice was practically stamped out, at least in many districts. The most extensive smuggling of silk and opium in the history of the Treasury Department was investigated by agents of the Secret Service in New York and Seattle, and a successful prosecution of the offenders undertaken. Assistance of the utmost value was rendered to the Department of Justice in the beef-trust investigation at Chicago, prosecutions were followed up and fines inflicted. The cotton-leak scandal in the Agricultural Department was investigated and the responsible parties located. What was done in connection with lottery investigations is disclosed in a letter just sent to me by the United States attorney for Delaware, running as follows:

The destruction of the Honduras National Lottery Company, successor to the Louisiana Lottery

Company, was entirely the work of the Secret Service. . . . This excellent work was accomplished by Mr. Wilkie and his subordinates. I thought it might be timely to recall this prosecution.

Three hundred thousand dollars in fines were collected by the Government in the lottery cases. Again, the ink contract fraud in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing (a bureau of the Treasury Department) was investigated by the Secret Service and the guilty parties brought to justice. Mr. Tawney stated in the debate that this was not investigated by the Secret Service but by a clerk "down there," conveying the impression that the clerk was not in the Secret Service. As a matter of fact he was in the Secret Service; his name was Moran, and he was promoted to assistant chief for the excellence of his work in this case. The total expense for the office and field force of the Secret Service last year was $135,000; and by this one investigation they saved to the Government over $100,000 a year. Thanks to the restriction imposed by Congress, it is now very difficult for the Secretary of the Treasury to use the Secret Service freely even in his own department; for instance, to use them to repeat what they did so admirably in the case of this ink contract. The Government is further crippled by the law forbidding it to employ detective agencies. Of course the Government can detect the most dangerous crimes, and punish the worst criminals, only by the use, either of the Secret

Service or of private detectives; to hamper it in using the one, and forbid it to resort to the other, can inure to the benefit of none save the criminals.

The facts above given show beyond possibility of doubt that what the Secretary of the Treasury and I had both written prior to the enactment of the obnoxious provision, and what I have since written in my message to the Congress, state the facts exactly as they are. The obnoxious provision is of benefit only to the criminal class and can be of benefit only to the criminal class. If it had been embodied in the law at the time when I became President all the prosecutions above mentioned, and many others of the same general type, would either not have been undertaken or would have been undertaken with the Government at a great disadvantage; and many, and probably most, of the chief offenders would have gone scot-free instead of being punished for their crimes.

Such a body as the Secret Service, such a body of trained investigating agents, occupying a permanent position in the Government service, and separate from local investigating forces in different Departments, is an absolute necessity if the best work is to be done against criminals. It is by far the most efficient instrument possible to use against crime. Of course the more efficient an instrument is, the more dangerous it is if misused. To the argument that a force like this can be misused it is only necessary to answer that the condition of its usefulness if handled properly is that it shall be so efficient as to

be dangerous if handled improperly. Any instance of abuse by the Secret Service or other investigating force in the Departments should be unsparingly punished; and Congress should hold itself ready at any and all times to investigate the Executive departments whenever there is reason to believe that any such instance of abuse has occurred. I wish to emphasize my more than cordial acquiescence in the view that this is not only the right of Congress, but emphatically its duty. To use the Secret Service in the investigation of purely private or political matters would be a gross abuse. But there has been no single instance of such abuse during my term as President.

In conclusion, I most earnestly ask, in the name of good government and decent administration, in the name of honesty and for the purpose of bringing to justice violators of the Federal laws wherever they may be found, whether in public or private life, that the action taken by the House last year be reversed. When this action was taken, the Senate Committee, under the lead of the late Senator Allison, having before it a strongly-worded protest (Appendix D) from Secretary Cortelyou like that he had sent to Mr. Tawney, accepted the Secretary's views; and the Senate passed the bill in the shape presented by Senator Allison. In the conference, however, the House conferees insisted on the retention of the provision they had inserted, and the Senate yielded.

The Chief of the Secret Service is paid a salary

utterly inadequate to the importance of his functions and to the admirable way in which he has performed them. I earnestly urge that it be increased to $6,000 per annum. I also urge that the Secret Service be placed where it properly belongs, and made a bureau in the Department of Justice, as the Chief of the Secret Service has repeatedly requested; but whether this is done or not, it should be explicitly provided that the Secret Service can be used to detect and punish crime wherever it is found.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 4, 1909.

APPENDIX C

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D. C., April 30, 1908.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER:

There is one matter connected with the sundry civil bill to which I should call your special attention, and that is the cutting down of the appropriation asked for by the Interstate Commerce Commission to carry into effect the twentieth section of the Hepburn law to only $50,000. In accordance with the request of the Committee on Appropriations in carrying out the desire of the leaders of the House, the Interstate Commerce Commission, instead of asking as they originally asked for $500,000, which was the amount necessary in order to do the best work in carrying out the twentieth section, cut down the request to $350,000, the very

minimum under which the work can be done effectively at all.

To provide only $50,000 really amounts to making a sham appropriation. It would be better to repeal the twentieth section or suspend its operation for a year, for such a course would have the merit of frankness. I regard this twentieth section as containing one of the most important provisions of the Hepburn Act, and to refuse to provide means for carrying it on is equivalent to repealing for this year that section, and it would undoubtedly be so understood by the country at large. I feel that the Hepburn Act was one of the great pieces of legislation for which Congress, under your direction and guidance, has been responsible, and for which it has received such deserved credit.

It would be from every standpoint a very real misfortune now to nullify one of the important provisions of that act. The only people benefited would be the very worst of the big railroad men whose misdeeds we are trying to prevent or correct. The Commission has been at work with the railroads for two years preparing to put this section into execution through the means of a board of examiners. To refuse to give them $350,000 (for to appropriate $50,000 serves no purpose whatever) is to nullify completely these two years' work.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Theodore Roosevelt.

Hon. Joseph G. Cannon,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

P. S.—I may also add that if carried into effect the proposal in the bill limiting the wages on the Panama Canal may completely upset the admirable work now being done thereon; and of course the provision about the employment of the Secret Service men will work very great damage to the Government in its endeavor to prevent and punish crime. There is no more foolish outcry than this against "spies;" only criminals *need fear our detectives.*

MEMORANDUM TO ACCOMPANY SUNDRY CIVIL BILL, 1909

I have hesitated long before affixing my signature to this bill, and if it were earlier in the session, or if the bill contained a less number of important propositions of benefit to the country, I should certainly not sign it. Moreover, if Section 9 of the bill, to which I subsequently refer, were operative according to its evident intent, I should be forced to veto the bill anyhow. But I have concluded that this section is not operative to the extent that its framers evidently hoped, and that the mischief it will cause, though appreciable, can be sufficiently remedied by the action of the Executive to warrant my permitting the bill to become a law, in view of all the considerations surrounding the case.

The Secret Service provision is left practically as it was a year ago. As I have said repeatedly in

official communications, this action is of benefit only to the criminal classes. The action of the Executive, however, through the Department of Justice, in organizing in that Department a body precisely similar to the Secret Service, is enabling the administration gradually to offset the damage done to the cause of honest government by the action of the Congress last year. This action of the Executive was taken under already existing law and without any special authority being conferred upon it by the Congress, and was a striking instance of the fact that the Executive is obliged, if it is faithful to the interests of the people, now and then to take extraordinary action in order to offset the detriment that would otherwise accrue to the people.

Section 9 of the act contains a provision far more damaging to the interests of the public. This attempts to prohibit the use of any Government funds or the detail of any Government clerks to help the work of any commission, council, or board, unless the same is specifically authorized by previous Congressional action. This could only result in hampering efficient governmental work. But as the purpose of the attempt in its entirety is clearly an invasion of Executive prerogative, and unconstitutional and void, it is only very partially successful. The provision is obviously aimed at such commissions or boards as, for instance, the Conservation Commission, the Country Life Commission, the Council of Fine Arts, the General Board of the Navy, and the joint Board of the Army and Navy,

not to speak of such boards as the National Advisory Board on Structural Material, the board of reference in connection with the pure food law, and scores of others, none of which were first authorized by Congress, but all of which were called together by the Executive for the purpose of public service; for the purpose of rendering to our people sorely needed service which could not and would not otherwise have been rendered. So far as the various army and navy boards are concerned, the attempt is fortunately futile, and represents merely failure in an effort to subordinate purely military and national considerations to small personal or political considerations. The President has under the Constitution the sole power to direct the use of the officers of the army and navy, always provided that he acts within the limits set by the Constitution. The Congress can no more forbid the President to use the services of officers or employees when they act in concert as a board or council than it can forbid him to use their services when they act as individuals.

The chief object of this provision, however, is to prevent the Executive repeating what it has done within the last year in connection with the Conservation Commission and the Country Life Commission. It is for the people of this country to decide whether or not they believe in the work done by the Conservation Commission and by the Country Life Commission. If the people of this country do not believe in the conservation of our

natural resources; if they do not believe in developing our waterways and protecting our forests; if they do not believe in the betterment of life on the farm, and in upholding the interests of the farmers; if they are willing to go on in the old course of squandering the effects of our children's children; then they will uphold the action of those in Congress who are responsible for this provision. If they believe in improving our waterways, in preventing the waste of soil, in preserving the forests, in thrifty use of the mineral resources of the country for the Nation as a whole rather than merely for private monopolies, in working for the betterment of the condition of the men and women who live on the farms, then they will unstintedly condemn the action of every man who is in any way responsible for inserting this provision, and will support those members of the Legislative branch who opposed its adoption. I would not sign the bill at all if I thought the provision entirely effective. But the Congress can not prevent the President from seeking advice. Any future President can do as I have done, and ask disinterested men who desire to serve the people to give this service free to the people through these commissions. This action taken by the Congress hampers and renders more difficult the work of such commissions, and entails a greater sacrifice in time and money upon the public-spirited men who disinterestedly and without any recompense have served or may serve on these commissions. But the Congress can only hamper and ren-

der more difficult, it can not stop, this work. The Executive can continue to appoint these commissions and can make exactly the use of them that I have made in the past, although, owing to the Congress, a greater burden will be put upon them.

The Republican platform last year said: "We endorse the movement inaugurated by the Administration for the conservation of natural resources * * No obligation of the future is more insistent and none will result in greater blessings to posterity." The Democratic platform said: "We repeat the demand for internal development and for the conservation of our natural resources, the enforcement of which Mr. Roosevelt has . . . sought."

My successor, the President-elect, in a letter presented to the Senate Committee on Appropriations, asked for the continuance and support of the Conservation Commission. This Conservation Commission was appointed at the request of the Governors of over forty States, and almost all of these States have since appointed commissions to cooperate with the National Commission. Nearly all the great National organizations concerned with natural resources have been heartily cooperating with the Commission.

With all these facts before it, the Congress has refused to pass a law to continue and provide for the Commission; and it now passes a law with the purpose of preventing the Executive from continuing the Commission at all. The Executive, therefore, must now either abandon the work and reject

the cooperation of the States, or else must continue the work personally and through Executive officers whom he may select for that purpose.

When I speak of the Congress I of course mean those members of the Congress who are responsible for this provision of the bill, and I emphatically do not mean those public-spirited members who have striven to prevent the incorporation in the bill of this provision. To the Congressmen who in this and similar matters have stood by the interests of the public, the interests of those whom Abraham Lincoln called "the plain people," the heartiest support is owing. But I call the attention of those who are responsible for putting in this provision to a fundamental fact which is often ignored in discusssing and comparing the action of the Executive and the action of the Legislative branches of the Government. Neither one is responsible to the other. Each must act as its wisdom dictates. But each is responsible to the people as a whole. It is for the people to decide whether they are represented aright by any given servant; and one element in enabling them to reach a decision must be that public servant's record in such a case as this.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 4, 1909.

LETTER TO SENATOR EUGENE HALE, DATED JANUARY 5, 1909, WITH EXHIBITS

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON,
January 5, 1909.

MY DEAR SENATOR HALE: I have requested the different departments of the Government, not only those to whom you sent requests, but those to whom you did not, to give me all the information about the use of special attorneys, special agents, inspectors, etc., in their departments which will enable me to put before you all the facts which, as I understand it, your committee desire to have. I transmit these reports herewith. I call especial attention to the reports of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Attorney-General.

Let me at the outset most earnestly express my cordial agreement with the view that it is not only the right but the duty of Congress to investigate the workings of the Secret Service or detective agents by which alone the Government can effectually safeguard itself against wrongdoing, punish crime, and bring to justice criminals. I am well aware of the liability to abuse inherent in any effective detective system or Secret Service system; for the measure of the efficiency of the system is also the measure of the seriousness of the abuses of the system if it be applied to wrong purposes or directed in an improper manner. It is eminently to the public interest that there should be vigilant inquiry into the

working of this agency both by the heads of the executive departments and by Congress.

It nevertheless remains true that this system is absolutely indispensable if the popular interest is to be adequately safeguarded and wrongdoers taught to fear the law. To show how indispensable detectives are when important work of a confidential character must be done, I refer you to the experience of the Immigration Commission appointed by Congress and largely composed of Senators and Representatives, which has found it absolutely necessary to employ detectives in order to achieve the best results. In my communication of the 4th instant to the Lower House I have set forth at length the reasons why, in my judgment, it is eminently desirable that, in addition to the special detectives or inspection service of each department, there should be in some one department, preferably the Department of Justice, a service which can be used at need in any department in order to achieve the ends I have described. I would like to state here that very frequently accusations have been made to me privately by Members of the two Houses to the effect that the secret service has been used as a "police of morals" or to shadow Senators, Congressmen, and other public officials. Hitherto the effort to discover the basis for such allegations has always been fruitless. I should be greatly obliged if any information could be furnished me tending to show any instance where this has been done in times past.

Certain of the special agents, inspectors, and the like, in the several departments have a highly specialized work to perform. In the Treasury Department the Secret Service is especially trained to deal with counterfeiters and the special agents with customs frauds. In the Post-Office Department the corps of inspectors is especially trained and peculiarly fitted to detect criminality or abuses or fraudulent use of the mails in connection with the postal service. In the Interior Department the special agents of the land office and the inspectors of the Indian bureau are trained in similar fashion to meet special needs. In addition, it is urgently necessary, as set forth in Mr. Root's accompanying report, that there shall be a central force of Secret Service men who can be detailed for work anywhere in the government service.

Of course, in the investigation of specific frauds we sometimes come across wholly unexpected phases of misconduct. The frauds in the postal department which were unearthed some six years ago, for instance, offer a case in point. My suspicions were first aroused by a report made as to the very extravagant and debauched manner of life of a certain postal employee, this report being made by an official of the Secret Service in connection with another transaction on which he was at work. So with cases of the abuse of the franking privilege. The post-office never of set purpose inspects any package sent through the mails by a Senator or Congressmen, but sometimes through the accidental

breaking of such package the contents are exposed, and if they are of a character which makes their transmission by franking privilege illegal, steps are taken by the post-office authorities to collect the full postage. Some of these instances represent real abuses, but in other cases they are due to carelessness or ignorance, and very often doubtless are entirely unknown to the Congressmen themselves, and no good purpose would be served by any publicity in the matter. But a case has just arisen of a different kind, which it seems to me I should put before you as illustrating in striking fashion the way in which investigations begun by any of these various agents in the strict line of their duty may develop facts of high importance, which the investigators would not in the first instance have sought to discover, which when discovered ought not to be hidden or suppressed, but the development of which may tend to create an erroneous impression that the agents in question were being used for purposes not within the line of their lawful duty.

On the 19th of February, 1908 (see Exhibit A) Senator Tillman called the attention of the Senate to a circular of a syndicate firm for the sale of lands in Oregon, particularly in Coos and Douglas counties, which had been granted to corporations by the Government, the circular stating that the company in possession of the lands was bound to sell them for $2.50 an acre or upon their refusal would be prosecuted by the Government, and that "among those who have spoken for a part of this land is

Senator Tillman of South Carolina, the leader of the Democratic party in the Senate, a man who usually gets what he goes after." Senator Tillman denied the statements of this circular and expressed a wish for an investigation, and upon his request the Post-Office Department, through its inspectors, made such an investigation. He stated in reference to this circular:

"I have not bought any land anywhere in the West nor undertaken to buy any. I have made some inquiries, as one naturally would, in roaming through the West. I simply want the people of the country to be put on notice that this swindler at Portland has no warrant whatever for endeavoring to inveigle others into his game."

I inclose the circular referred to, as Exhibit B; the report of the post-office inspectors, under date of July 27, 1908, as Exhibit C. This is a confidential report of a type usually not furnished, but in this case the matter is so serious that I feel I should put it before you. I inclose you also, as Exhibits D 1, D 2, D 3, D 4, and D 5, photographic facsimiles of letters and envelopes and telegrams from Senator Tillman and his agent, William E. Lee. It appears that on October 20, 1907, Senator Tillman wrote a letter (Exhibit D 3) to Messrs. Reeder and Watkins, of Marshfield, Ore., who were attorneys representing people who were applicants for the purchase of certain wagon road land grant land; Dorr was a land agent making his

filings through Reeder and Watkins. Senator Tillman's letter runs in part as follows:

"I wired you from Wausau, Wis., as follows, and write to confirm it. 'Wm. E. Lee, my agent, will see you about land. I want nine quarters reserved. Will forward signed applications and money at once. Members of my family are entrymen. Letter follows. (Signed) B. R. T.' I write now to say I wired Mr. Lee, who resides at Moscow, Idaho, to go at once to Marshfield and see you about the land, to locate quarters for the seven members of my family who are of age and one for my private secretary, J. B. Knight, whom I desire to let into the deal, and of course he wants a quarter for himself."

The letter continued, stating in detail what was to be done in order to enable the Senator to get the land. The William E. Lee to whom Senator Tillman thus referred as his agent, wrote to Reeder and Watkins, under date of December 7, a letter, photographic copy of which is herewith submitted, marked "Exhibit D 4." In this letter Mr. Lee explains that he had written Senator Tillman fully as to the status of the land matter, advising him that it was "a good gamble," but that the Senator was lecturing, so that he did not get Mr. Lee's letter until a week and a half previously. The letter continues:

"In case Senator Tillman gets in on this deal with some good land in the eight quarters we want, I am satisfied that he can be of great help in getting matters started from Washington and cause the Government to get busy and do something along the

line you desire. He will set up such a howl that it will be impossible to do otherwise. This will be very important for your whole scheme to have a man of his influence here to aid you at this end of the line. By all means save a lot of good land for us, as we intend to be of more value than any one of the others in this matter."

On the 31st of January, 1908, Senator Tillman introduced in the Senate the following resolution:

"Whereas, at divers times, various railroads and other corporations have received large grants of public lands of the United States, under and by virtue of acts of the Congress, containing conditions to the effect that such lands should be sold to actual settlers only, or in quantities not exceeding for any one purchaser a limit fixed by the act relating thereto, or at a price per acre not greater than an amount mentioned in the act authorizing such grant, to the end that such lands might promptly become the homes of citizens of the United States; and

"Whereas it is currently reported and widely believed that the Department of Justice has information to the effect that certain of the corporations aforesaid, or their alleged successors in title, having obtained colorable title to large tracts of land within a State or States of the Pacific slope by virtue of the grants above mentioned, and still holding considerable portions thereof, have violated or evaded the equitable and salutary conditions so as aforesaid imposed by the Congress upon such grants for the public good; yet the Senate is not advised that any

action has been taken by the Department of Justice to enforce the said conditions or restore the said lands to the public domain: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved, etc.,* That the President be requested, if not incompatible with the public interest, to inform the Senate what information, if any, has been received, and what action, if any, has been taken by the Department of Justice with respect to the matters and things in the preamble to this resolution set forth."

and pressed vigorously for immediate action. The resolution being laid over, Senator Tillman introduced the same day a further and joint resolution containing the same recitals, but concluding as follows:

"*Resolved, etc.,* That the Attorney-General be, and he is hereby, directed, authorized, and empowered to take such proceedings or institute such suit or suits on behalf of the United States as may be necessary, appropriate, or expedient to insure a compliance with the above-mentioned conditions or to restore the said lands to the public domain, or to report to the Congress why such action as aforesaid has not been or should not be taken."

On February 15 Senator Tillman wrote to Messrs. Reeder and Watkins. A photograph of this letter is also attached as Exhibit D 5. In it I call your attention to the fact that he speaks again of Mr. Lee as his agent and of the correspondence carried on through Mr. Lee. He states that what he has done in stirring up the question of the

Oregon land grants to railroads has been done entirely apart from any personal interest he has in the matter, and adds, "although I never would have had my attention called to it but for the investigation as set on foot in connection with the proposed purchase by me of some of the timber land in question. Of course, if I decide to make the tender and go into the lawsuit, I will bear your proposition in mind, but I would have you understand that nothing I do here in the Senate will be done because of any personal purchase of any of the land. If I can succeed in causing the Government to institute suit for the recovery of the land and make it easier for others *as well as myself* (the italics are mine) to obtain some of it, I shall do it without any regard to the dealings with your firm. I still want to get some of the timber land, if it is possible, and as it is probable that Mr. Lee or some other representative of mine will be in your country in the next two months we will leave the matter of payment for the initiatory steps and subsequent proceedings in abeyance for the present. Any contract we might make will be entirely apart from, and independent of, my work here in the Senate. I will be glad for you to hold in reserve eight of the best quarter sections of which you have definite information and I will in the meantime press the investigation and other work here which will facilitate the final purchase, and in effect obviate the necessity of your making any case in the courts at all."

This letter in which Senator Tillman requested

that eight of the best quarter sections be held in reserve for him was written just four days before he announced in the Senate that he had not undertaken to buy any land in the West. It is unnecessary to comment upon his proposal, made in this letter, to use his influence as Senator to force the Government to institute a suit which would make it easy for him personally to obtain some of the land. This letter, purely pertaining to Mr. Tillman's personal and private business, was sent in a franked envelope, of which I attach photographic copy marked "Exhibit D 5."

The assault by Senator Tillman upon Mr. Dorr was, according to the report of the inspectors, a wanton assault made to cover up Senator Tillman's own transactions.

I call your attention to the letter of Mr. Dorr to the Postmaster-General, under date of November 22, 1908 (Exhibit E), in which he asks for relief from the cases which Senator Tillman had brought against him, saying that he had no knowledge that Senator Tillman desired his operations to be kept hidden and secret from general public knowledge. The report of the inspectors seems to indicate that this young man, Mr. Dorr, acted in good faith, but that he used Senator Tillman's application for land as an advertisement. Very truly, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

HON. EUGENE HALE,
Acting Chairman Committee on Appropriations,
United States Senate.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 15, 1909

I return herewith without my approval House bill 17707 to authorize William H. Standish to construct a dam across James River, in Stone County, Mo., and divert a portion of its waters through a tunnel into the said river again to create electric power. My reasons for not signing the bill are: The bill gives to the grantee a valuable privilege, which by its very nature is monopolistic, and does not contain the conditions essential to protect the public interest.

In pursuance of a policy, declared in my message of Feb. 26, 1908 (S. D. No. 325), transmitting the report of the Inland Waterways Commission to Congress, I wrote on March 13, 1908, the following letter to the Senate Committee on Commerce:

"Numerous bills granting water rights in conformity with the general act of June 21, 1906, have been introduced during the present session of Congress, and some of these have already passed. While the general act authorizes the limitation and restriction of water rights in the public interest and would seem to warrant making a reasonable charge for the benefits conferred, those bills which have come to my attention do not seem to guard the public interests adequately in these respects. The effect of granting privileges such as are conferred by these bills, as I said in a recent message, 'taken together with rights already acquired under state

laws, would be to give away properties of enormous value. Through lack of foresight we have formed the habit of granting without compensation extremely valuable rights, amounting to monopolies, on navigable streams and on the public domain. The repurchase at great expense of water rights thus carelessly given away without return has already begun in the East, and before long will be necessary in the West also. No rights involving water power should be granted to any corporation in perpetuity, but only for a length of time sufficient to allow them to conduct their business profitably. A reasonable charge should, of course, be made for valuable rights and privileges which they obtain from the National Government. The values for which this charge is made will ultimately, through the natural growth and orderly development of our population and industries, reach enormous amounts. A fair share of the increase should be safeguarded for the benefit of the people, from whose labor it springs. The proceeds thus secured, after the cost of administration and improvement has been met, should naturally be devoted to the development of our inland waterways.' Accordingly I have decided to sign no bills hereafter which do not provide specifically for the right to fix and make a charge and for a definite limitation in time of the rights conferred."

In my veto message of April 13, 1908, returning House Bill 15444, to extend the time for the construction of a dam across Rainy River, I said:

"We are now at the beginning of great development in water power. Its use through electrical transmission is entering more and more largely into every element of the daily life of the people. Already the evils of monopoly are becoming manifest; already the experience of the past shows the necessity of caution in making unrestricted grants of this great power.

"The present policy pursued in making these grants is unwise in giving away the property of the people in the flowing waters to individuals or organizations practically unknown, and granting in perpetuity these valuable privileges in advance of the formulation of definite plans as to their use. In some cases the grantees apparently have little or no financial or other ability to utilize the gift, and have sought it merely because it could be had for the asking."

The Rainy River Company, by an agreement in writing, approved by the War Department, subsequently promised to submit to and abide by such conditions as may be imposed by the Secretary of War, including a time limit and a reasonable charge. Only because of its compliance in this way with these conditions did the bill extending the time limit for that project finally become a law.

An amendment to the present bill expressly authorizing the Government to fix a limitation of time and impose a charge was proposed by the War Department. The letter, veto message, and amendment above referred to were considered by the

Senate Committee on Commerce, as appears by the committee's report on the present bill, and the proposed amendment was characterized by the committee as a "new departure from the policy heretofore pursued in respect to legislation authorizing the construction of such dams." Their report set forth an elaborate legal argument intended to show that the Federal Government has no power to impose any charge whatever for such a privilege.

The fact that the proposed policy is new is in itself no sufficient argument against its adoption. As we are met with new conditions of industry seriously affecting the public welfare, we should not hesitate to adopt measures for the protection of the public merely because those measures are new. When the public welfare is involved, Congress should resolve any reasonable doubt as to its legislative power in favor of the people and against the seekers for a special privilege.

My reason for believing that the Federal Government, in granting a license to dam a navigable river, has the power to impose any conditions it finds necessary to protect the public, including a charge and a limitation of the time, is that its consent is legally essential to an enterprise of this character. It follows that Congress can impose conditions upon its consent. This principle was clearly stated in the House of Representatives on March 28, 1908, by Mr. Williams, of Mississippi, when he said:

". . . There can be no doubt in the mind of any

man seeking merely the public good and public right, independently of any desire for local legislation, of this general proposition, that whenever any sovereignty, state or federal, is required to issue a charter or a license or a consent, in order to confer powers upon individuals or corporations, it is the duty of that sovereignty in the interests of the people so to condition the grant of that power as that it shall redound to the interest of all the people, and that utilities of vast value should not be gratuitously granted to individuals or corporations and perpetually alienated from the people or the state or the government.

". . . It is admitted that this power to erect dams in navigable streams can not be exercised by anybody except by an act of Congress. Now, then, if it requires an act of Congress to permit any man to put a dam in a navigable stream, then two things follow: Congress should so exercise the power in making that grant as, first, to prevent any harm to the navigability of the stream itself, and, secondly, so as to prevent any individual or any private corporation from securing through the act of Congress any uncompensated advantage of private profit."

The authority of Congress in this matter was asserted by Secretary Taft on April 17, 1908, in his report on Senator Newland's Inland Waterways Commission bill (S. 500), where he said:

"In the execution of any project and as incidental to and inseparably connected with the improvement of navigation, the power of Congress extends to the

regulation of the use and development of the waters for purposes subsidiary to navigation."

And by the Solicitor-General in a memorandum prepared after a careful investigation of the subject.

Believing that the National Government has this power, I am convinced that its power ought to be exercised. The people of the country are threatened by a monopoly far more powerful, because in far closer touch with their domestic and industrial life, than anything known to our experience. A single generation will see the exhaustion of our natural resources of oil and gas and such a rise in the price of coal as will make the price of electrically transmitted water power a controlling factor in transportation, in manufacturing, and in household lighting and heating. Our water power alone, if fully developed and wisely used, is probably sufficient for our present transportation, industrial, municipal, and domestic needs. Most of it is undeveloped and is still in National or State control.

To give away, without conditions, this, one of the greatest of our resources, would be an act of folly. If we are guilty of it, our children will be forced to pay an annual return upon a capitalization based upon the highest prices which "the traffic will bear." They will find themselves face to face with powerful interests intrenched behind the doctrine of "vested rights" and strengthened by every defense which money can buy and the ingenuity of able corporation lawyers can devise. Long before that time

they may and very probably will have become a consolidated interest, controlled from the great financial centers, dictating the terms upon which the citizen can conduct his business or earn his livelihood, and not amenable to the wholesome check of local opinion.

Information collected by the Bureau of Corporations shows that eleven large concerns, of which the General Electric Company and the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company are the most important, now hold water-power installations and advantageous power sites aggregating about 950,000 horse-power, where the control by these concerns is practically admitted. This is over 17 per cent of the total developed water power of the country. Further evidence of a very strong nature as to additional intercorporate relations, furnished by the Bureau, leads me to the conclusion that this total should be increased to 24 per cent; and still other evidence, though less conclusive, nevertheless affords reasonable ground for enlarging this estimate by 9 per cent additional. In other words, it is probable that these eleven corporations directly or indirectly control developed water power and advantageous power sites equal to more than a third of all the developed water power in the entire country. This astonishing consolidation has taken place practically within the last five years. The movement is still in its infancy, and unless it is controlled the history of the oil industry will be repeated in the hydro-electric power industry, with

results far more oppressive and disastrous for the people. It is true that the great bulk of our potential water power is as yet undeveloped, but the sites which are now controlled by combinations are those which offer the greatest advantages and therefore hold a strategic position. This is certain to be strengthened by the increasing demand for power and the extension of long-distance electrical transmission.

It is, in my opinion, relatively unimportant for us to know whether or not the promoters of this particular project are affiliated with any of these great corporations. If we make an unconditional grant to this grantee, our control over it ceases. He, or any purchaser from him, will be free to sell his rights to any one of them at pleasure. The time to attach conditions and prevent monopoly is when a grant is made.

The great corporations are acting with foresight, singleness of purpose, and vigor to control the water powers of the country. They pay no attention to State boundaries and are not interested in the constitutional law affecting navigable streams except as it affords what has been aptly called a "twilight zone," where they may find a convenient refuge from any regulation whatever by the public, whether through the National or the State governments. It is significant that they are opposing the control of water power on the Desplaines River by the State of Illinois with equal vigor and with like arguments to those with which they oppose the

National Government pursuing the policy I advocate. Their attitude is the same with reference to their projects upon the mountain streams of the West, where the jurisdiction of the Federal Government as the owner of the public lands and national forests is not open to question. They are demanding legislation for unconditional grants in perpetuity of land for reservoirs, conduits, power houses, and transmission lines to replace the existing statute which authorizes the administrative officers of the Government to impose conditions to protect the public when any permit is issued. Several bills for that purpose are now pending in both Houses, among them the bill, S. 6626, to subject lands owned or held by the United States to condemnation in the State courts, and the bills, H. R. 11356 and S. 2661, respectively, to grant locations and rights of way for electric and other power purposes through the public lands and reservations of the United States. These bills were either drafted by representatives of the power companies, or are similar in effect to those thus drafted. On the other hand, the administration proposes that authority be given to issue power permits for a term not to exceed fifty years, irrevocable except for breach of condition. This provision to prevent revocation would remove the only valid ground of objection to the act of 1901, which expressly makes all permits revocable at discretion. The following amendment to authorize this in National forests was inserted in last year's agricultural appropriation bill:

And hereafter permits for power plants within national forests may be made irrevocable, except for breach of condition, for such term, not exceeding fifty years, as the Secretary of Agriculture may by regulation prescribe, and land covered by such permits issued in pursuance of an application filed before entry, location, or application, subsequently approved under the act of June 11, 1906, shall in perpetuity remain subject to such permit and renewals thereof.

The representatives of the power companies present in Washington during the last session agreed upon the bill above mentioned as the most favorable to their interests. At their request frequent conferences were held between them and the representatives of the administration for the purpose of reaching an agreement if possible. The companies refused to accept anything less than a grant in perpetuity and insisted that the slight charge now imposed by the Forest Service was oppressive. But they made no response to the specific proposal that the reasonableness of the charge be determined through an investigation of their business by the Bureau of Corporations.

The amendment of the agricultural bill providing for irrevocable permits being new legislation was stricken out under the House rules upon a point of order made by friends of the House bill—that is, by friends of the power companies. Yet, in the face of this record, the power companies complain that they are forced to accept revocable permits by the policy of the administration.

The new legislation sought in their own interest by some companies in the West, and the opposition of other companies in the East to proposed legislation in the public interest, have a common source and a common purpose. Their source is the rapidly growing water-power combination. Their purpose is a centralized monopoly of hydro-electric power development free of all public control. It is obvious that a monopoly of power in any community calls for strict public supervision and regulation.

The suggestion of the Senate Committee on Commerce in their report on the present bill that many of the streams for the damming of which a Federal license is sought are, in fact, unnavigable is sufficiently answered in this case by the action of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce upon this very measure. As stated in the House on March 18, 1908, by Mr. Russell, of Missouri, a bill to declare this river unnavigable was rejected by that committee.

I repeat the words with which I concluded my message vetoing the Rainy River bill:

In place of the present haphazard policy of permanently alienating valuable public property we should substitute a definite policy along the following lines:

First. There should be a limited or carefully guarded grant in the nature of an option or opportunity afforded within reasonable time for de-

velopment of plans and for execution of the project.

Second. Such a grant or concession should be accompanied in the act making the grant by a provision expressly making it the duty of a designated official to annul the grant of the work if not begun or plans are not carried out in accordance with the authority granted.

Third. It should also be the duty of some designated official to see to it that in approving the plans the maximum development of the navigation and power is assured, or at least that in making the plans these may not be so developed as ultimately to interfere with the better utilization of the water or complete development of the power.

Fourth. There should be a license fee or charge which, though small or nominal at the outset, can in the future be adjusted so as to secure a control in the interest of the public.

Fifth. Provision should be made for the termination of the grant or privilege at a definite time, leaving to future generations the power or authority to renew or extend the concession in accordance with the conditions which may prevail at that time.

Further reflection suggests a sixth condition, viz:

The license should be forfeited upon proof that the licensee has joined in any conspiracy or unlawful combination in restraint of trade, as is provided

for grants of coal lands in Alaska by the act of May 28, 1908.

I will sign no bill granting a privilege of this character which does not contain the substance of these conditions. I consider myself bound, as far as exercise of my executive power will allow, to do for the people, in prevention of monopoly of their resources, what I believe they would do for themselves if they were in a position to act. Accordingly I shall insist upon the conditions mentioned above not only in acts which I sign, but also in passing upon plans for use of water power presented to the executive departments for action. The imposition of conditions has received the sanction of Congress in the general act of 1906, regulating the construction of dams in navigable waters, which authorizes the imposing of "such conditions and stipulations as the Chief of Engineers and the Secretary of War may deem necessary to protect the present and future interests of the United States."

I inclose a letter from the Commissioner of Corporations, setting forth the results of his investigations and the evidence of the far-reaching plans and operations of the General Electric Company, the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, and other large concerns, for consolidation of the water powers of the country under their control. I also inclose the memorandum of the Solicitor-General above referred to.

I esteem it my duty to use every endeavor to prevent this growing monopoly, the most threaten-

ing which has ever appeared, from being fastened upon the people of this nation.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 15, 1909.

AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE AFRICAN DIAMOND JUBILEE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 18, 1909

Bishop Cranston; Bishop Hartzell; Men and Women of the Great Methodist Church:

Before beginning the speech I have prepared, I want to say just a word to express the thoughts that come to me as I speak to-night to this audience, making the last public speech I shall make as President in this city.

I want to thank you, I want to thank all the people of the Methodist Church throughout this country for the aid and comfort and inspiration they have been to me throughout the seven and a half years of my Presidency.

The Bishop spoke of the "Square Deal." In all seriousness, I would not come before a Methodist audience if I did not think that I had at least tried to give it; and at every turn, in every crisis that has arisen, and all the long periods of work between crises throughout my term as President I have felt the touch of elbows with you Methodists. I have been associated intimately with many of the leaders of your Church. I have seen much of

Bishop Cranston. I took an intense interest in what he had told me, and what Bishop Harris had told me about the Orient; and just at this moment, in addition to securing a square deal within our own borders, I want all of you, and especially I want the Methodists of California and the Pacific Slope, and I want all the decent people, all the good Americans of California and the Pacific Slope, to assist in helping me see that we give a square deal to Japan. Now, I will see to it that the rights and interests of our own citizens are safeguarded. You know I am not a mere sentimentalist. I am not in the least afraid of invoking the big stick if it is necessary; but I should be ashamed to invoke it unless it was necessary. And I want to see us, while insisting on justice being done us, equally careful to do justice to others. The National Government, by agreement with the Japanese Government, and through the hearty and spontaneous initiative of the Japanese Government, has been able to achieve a completely satisfactory solution of all possible difficulties, of all possible questions that could be at issue between our people and the Japanese people. It is only the Federal Government that can with wisdom and propriety deal with these questions; and I ask all good Americans to see to it that unwise men, foolish men, do not jeopardize to their own harm and the harm of their own locality, the arrangement that is now working out so satisfactorily to the Governments of the United States and Japan.

There is one feature in the expansion of the

peoples of white, or European, blood during the past four centuries which should never be lost sight of, especially by those who denounce such expansion on moral grounds. On the whole, the movement has been fraught with lasting benefit to most of the peoples already dwelling in the lands over which the expansion took place. Of course any such general statement as this must be understood with the necessary reservations. Human nature being what it is, no movement lasting for four centuries and extending in one shape or another over the major part of the world could go on without cruel injustices being done at certain places and in certain times. Occasionally, although not very frequently, a mild and kindly race has been treated with wanton, brutal, and ruthless inhumanity by the white intruders. Moreover, mere savages, whose type of life was so primitive as to be absolutely incompatible with the existence of civilization, inevitably died out from the regions across which their sparse bands occasionally flitted, when these regions became filled with a dense population; they died out when they were kindly treated as quickly as when they were badly treated, for the simple reason that they were so little advanced that the conditions of life necessary to their existence were incompatible with any form of higher and better existence. It is also true that, even where great good has been done to the already existing inhabitants, where they have thriven under the new rule, it has sometimes brought with it discontent from the very fact that

it has brought with it a certain amount of well-being and a certain amount of knowledge, so that people have learned enough to feel discontented and have prospered enough to be able to show their discontent. Such ingratitude is natural, and must be reckoned with as such; but it is also both unwarranted and foolish, and the fact of its existence in any given case does not justify any change of attitude on our part.

On the whole, and speaking generally, one extraordinary fact of this expansion of the European races is that with it has gone an increase in population and well-being among the natives of the countries where the expansion has taken place. As a result of this expansion there now live outside of Europe over a hundred million of people wholly of European blood and many millions more partly of European blood; and as another result there are now on the whole more people of native blood in the regions where these hundred million intruders dwell than there were when the intruders went thither. In America the Indians of the West Indies were well-nigh exterminated, wantonly and cruelly. The merely savage tribes, both in North and South America, who were very few in number, have much decreased or have vanished, and grave wrongs have often been committed against them as well as by them. But all of the Indians who had attained to an even low grade of industrial and social efficiency have remained in the land, and have for the most part simply been assimilated with the intruders, the

assimilation marking on the whole a very considerable rise in their conditions. Taking into account the Indians of pure blood, and the mixed bloods in which the Indian element is large, it is undoubtedly true that the Indian population of America is larger to-day than it was when Columbus discovered the continent, and stands on a far higher plane of happiness and efficiency. In Australia the few savages tend to die out simply because their grade of culture is so low that nothing can be done with them; doubtless occasional brutalities have been committed by white settlers but these brutalities were not an appreciable factor in the dying out of the natives. In India and Java there has been a great increase in well-being and population under the English and the Dutch, and the advance made has been in striking contrast to what has occurred during the same period in the near-by lands which have remained under native rule. In Egypt, in the Philippines, in Algiers, the native people have thriven under the rule of the foreigner, advancing as under no circumstances could they possibly have advanced if left to themselves, the increase in population going hand in hand with the increase in general well-being. In the Soudan, Mahdism during the ten years of its unchecked control was responsible for the death of over half the population and meant physical and moral ruin, a fact which should be taken into acount by the perverted pseudo-philanthropy which fails to recognize the enormous advantages conferred by the English occupation of

the Soudan, if not on the English themselves, certainly on the natives and on humanity at large. In the same way the Russian advance into Turkestan has meant the real advance in the well-being of the people, as well as the spread of civilization. In Natal the English found an empty desert; because of the peace they established it has filled up so densely with natives as to create very serious and totally new problems. There have been very dark spots in the European conquest and control of Africa; but on the whole the African regions which during the past century have seen the greatest cruelty, degradation, and suffering, the greatest diminution of population, are those where native control has been unchecked. The advance has been made in the regions that have been under European control or influence; that have been profoundly influenced by European administrators, and by European and American missionaries. Of course the best that can happen to any people that has not already a high civilization of its own is to assimilate and profit by American or European ideas, the ideas of civilization and Christianity, without submitting to alien control; but such control, in spite of all its defects, is in a very large number of cases the prerequisite condition to the moral and material advance of the peoples who dwell in the darker corners of the earth. Where the control is exercised brutally; where it is made use of merely to exploit the natives, without regard to their physical or moral well-being; it should be unsparingly criticised, and there should be resolute

insistence on amendment and reform. But we must not, because of occasional wrongdoing, blind ourselves to the fact that on the whole the white administrator and the Christian missionary have exercised a profound and wholesome influence for good in savage regions.

Let me illustrate what I mean by particularly alluding to three cases—Algiers, India, and the Philippines. The North African coast was a mere nest of pirates during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Punitive expeditions were sent against these pirates again and again, but they could not be permanently suppressed by such expeditions, and all the great commercial nations were forced to pay them a more or less thinly disguised tribute or blackmail. The United States was among the number. It was the French conquest of Algiers which put a final stop to this blackmail; and it also put a stop to the unspeakable barbarism and cruelty inevitably attendant upon the slave-hunting piracy of the dwellers in the independent North African States. In other words, the independence of these States was a menace to every peaceful people, and incidentally it meant dreadful wrong and injustice within the States themselves. Algiers is far better off in every way under French rule than it was eighty years ago, before the French came into the land, and it is far better off in every way than is the neighboring State of Morocco at the present time; and this simply and solely because the neighboring State of Morocco continues to enjoy much

the same kind of independent self-government that Algiers enjoyed until the French went there.

In India we encounter the most colossal example history affords of the successful administration by men of European blood of a thickly populated region in another continent. It is the greatest feat of the kind that has been performed since the break-up of the Roman Empire. Indeed, it is a greater feat than was performed under the Roman Empire. Unquestionably mistakes have been made; it would indicate qualities literally superhuman if so gigantic a task had been accomplished without mistakes. It is easy enough to point out shortcomings; but the fact remains that the successful administration of the Indian Empire by the English has been one of the most notable and most admirable achievements of the white race during the past two centuries. On the whole it has been for the immeasurable benefit of the natives of India themselves. Suffering has been caused in particular cases and at particular times to these natives; much more often, I believe, by well-intentioned ignorance or bad judgment than by any moral obliquity. But on the whole there has been a far more resolute effort to do justice, a far more resolute effort to secure fair treatment for the humble and the oppressed during the days of English rule in India than during any other period of recorded Indian history. England does not draw a penny from India for English purposes; she spends for India the revenues raised in India; and they are spent for the benefit of the Indians them-

selves. Undoubtedly India is a less pleasant place than formerly for the heads of tyrannical States. There is now little or no room in it for successful freebooter chieftains, for the despots who lived in gorgeous splendor while under their cruel rule the immense mass of their countrymen festered in sodden misery. But the mass of the people have been and are far better off than ever before, and far better off than they would now be if English control were overthrown or withdrawn. Indeed, if English control were now withdrawn from India, the whole peninsula would become a chaos of bloodshed and violence; all the weaker peoples, and the most industrious and law-abiding, would be plundered and forced to submit to indescribable wrong and oppression; and the only beneficiaries among the natives would be the lawless, violent, and bloodthirsty. I have no question that there are reforms to be advanced—this is merely another way of saying that the Government has been human; I have also no question that there is being made and will be made a successful effort to accomplish these reforms. But the great salient fact is that the presence of the English in India, like the presence of the English in Egypt and the Soudan, of the French in Algiers, of the Russians in Turkestan, of the Germans in Southwest Africa and East Africa (and of all these peoples, and of other white peoples, in many other places), has been for the advantage of mankind. Every well-wisher of mankind, every true friend of humanity, should realize

that the part England has played in India has been to the immeasurable advantage of India, and for the honor and profit of civilization, and should feel profound satisfaction in the stability and permanence of English rule. I have seen many American missionaries who have come from India, and I can not overstate the terms of admiration in which they speak of the English rule in India, and of the incalculable benefits it has conferred and is conferring upon the natives.

Finally, take our own experience in the Philippines. Spain finally lost power to be of benefit to the islands; but do not forget that Spain accomplished very, very much for them during more than two centuries; and that the islands owe their present possibilities to the fact that the Spaniards took possession of them. Then we came in. I am sure that when international history is written, from the standpoint of acclaiming international justice, one chapter will tell with heartiest praise what our people have done in the Philippines. Exactly as in the Caribbean Sea we have endeavored to give genuine and disinterested help to the independent peoples of Cuba and San Domingo, so, in the same spirit—though the task is of quite different character—we are endeavoring to educate and train the native races under our sovereignty in the Philippines. In our treatment of the Filipinos we have acted up to the highest standard that has yet been set as marking the proper way in which a powerful and advanced nation should treat a weaker people. Cuba

we are at this moment leaving for the second time, to work out a destiny which we now hope and believe will be one of stable and orderly independence and prosperity. In the Philippines we are constantly giving an increasing measure of self-government. Of course, in one sense of the word self-government can never be bestowed by outsiders upon any people. It must be achieved by themselves. It means in this sense primarily self-control, self-restraint, and if those qualities do not exist—that is, if the people are unable to govern themselves—then, as there must be government somewhere, it has to come from outside. But we are constantly giving to the people of the Philippines an increasing share in, an increasing opportunity to learn by practice, the difficult art of self-government. If we had abandoned them at the outset to their own devices, if we had shirked our duty and sailed out of the islands, leaving them in a bloody welter of confusion, the chief sufferers would have been the Philippine people themselves. We are leading them forward steadily in the right direction, and we are doing it because our people at home desire that they shall be treated right, and because our people in the islands, in the civil government, in the army, and among the missionary representatives of the various creeds work primarily for the advancement of the people among whom they dwell. I believe that I am speaking with historic accuracy and impartiality when I say that the American treatment of and attitude toward the Filipino people, in its combination of disinterested

ethical purpose and sound common sense, marks a new and long stride forward, in advance of all steps that have hitherto been taken, along the path of wise and proper treatment of weaker by stronger races.

Now, in speaking to-night I wish to lay stress upon the missionary side of the general work in the foreign lands. America has for over a century done its share of missionary work. We who stay at home should as a matter of duty give cordial support to those who in a spirit of devotion to all that is highest in human nature, spend the best part of their lives in trying to carry civilization and Christianity into lands which have hitherto known little or nothing of either. The work is vast, and it is done under many and widely varied conditions. Personally I have always been particularly interested, for instance, in the extraordinary work done by the American schools and colleges in the Turkish Empire, both Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia; a work which has borne such wonderful fruit among the Bulgarians, among Syrian and Armenian Christians, and also among the Mohammedans; and this although among the Mohammedans there has been no effort to convert them, simply an effort to make them good citizens, to make them vie with their fellow-citizens who are Christians in showing those qualities which it should be the pride of every creed to develop; and the present movement to introduce far-reaching and genuine reforms, political and social, in Turkey, an effort with which we all keenly sympathize, is one in which

these young Moslems, educated at the American schools and colleges, are especially fitted to take part.

Bishop Hartzell's work has been done in Africa, the continent in which of all others there has been the most need for Christian work, and in which that work shows signs of reaching its widest development. It has been indeed a Dark Continent, and some of the white men who have gone thither have by their acts deepened the gloom. Let us as a race be thankful that so many other men have gone thither to strive for the uplift of the people, to strive for the betterment of conditions. Our own country has in the past committed grave wrong against Africa for which it should amply atone, and no better atonement can be made than that which is being made by the American missionaries of every creed and church, who are now doing so much in almost every corner of Africa for the physical, the intellectual, and the moral betterment of the people. I hope there will be the most hearty support of these men, who in far-off regions are fighting for progress in things of the spirit no less than in things of the body. Let us help them to make the missions centers of industrial no less than of ethical teaching; for unless we raise the savage in industrial efficiency we can not permanently keep him on a high plane of moral efficiency, nor yet can we render him able to hold his own in the world.

Bishop Hartzell, I greet you; and I extend my heartiest good wishes to the great Methodist body

on this golden jubilee of its far-reaching work in Africa. No denomination has done more zealous and effective missionary work than the Methodists. They were in many large regions west of the Alleghanies the pioneers of missionary work in our own land; and their missionaries are now to be found in every continent and under every clime.

In Africa, on the west coast, the foreign missionary work of the Methodist Episcopal Church was begun seventy-five years ago.

From that beginning a world-wide missionary movement has developed which now involves the annual expenditure of $3,000,000 from America, besides large amounts raised on the various foreign fields. This great work includes the establishment and maintenance, in several foreign countries, of churches and hospitals, schools of various grades and kinds, and far-reaching evangelistic effort. In recent years, with the opening of that continent to civilization, the work in Africa has grown to large proportions, and the church is face to face with unparalleled opportunities and responsibilities in the strengthening of the centers it now occupies and in answering the calls for enlargement.

The missionary authorities of the church, with the cordial approval of the board of bishops, have designated the year 1909 as Africa Diamond Jubilee year. The nearly 20,000 pastors of the church will present to their people the claims of Africa as a mission field and ask for jubilee offerings. The amount asked for from America is $300,000.

Suitable literature is being published for wide distribution. In addition to the contributions in money, it is fully expected that a large number of well-prepared young men and women will consecrate their lives to service in different parts of the Dark Continent.

The twentieth century will see and is now seeing the transformation of Africa into a new world. Within a few years its vast domain has been partitioned among various European nations. These nations are expending enormous sums of money and utilizing their best statesmanship and colonizing abilities in the development of colonial empires of wide extent and extraordinary material possibilities. Steamship lines encircle the Continent. A continental system of railways and of lake and river steamboats will soon extend northward from Cape Town 6,000 miles to Cairo, while branch lines will unite the East and West coasts at several points. The latest results of science are being utilized in mining and agriculture, while scholarly experts in different centers of Europe are studying the questions of native languages and religions, as well as the best methods of advancing civilization among the many millions of native peoples. The wealth of the commerce which will be developed cannot be estimated. The white man rules; but there is only one white man on the Continent to one hundred others, who are either barbaric black heathen or fanatical Mohammedans.

Self-interest and competition will, I believe, unite

in making the governments fair to the people, and the indomitable energy of the adventurous settlers and the wealth of the nations behind them will result in exploiting the vast commercial resources of the continents. But there is a question that is larger than either government or trade, and that is the moral well-being of these vast millions who have come under the protection of modern governments. The representative of the Christian religion must have his place side by side with the man of government and trade, and for generations that representative must be supplied in the person of the foreign missionary from America and Europe. Civilization can only be permanent and continue a blessing to any people if, in addition to promoting their material well-being, it also stands for an orderly individual liberty, for the growth of intelligence, and for equal justice in the administration of law. Christianity alone meets these fundamental requirements.

The change of sentiment in favor of the foreign missionary in a single generation has been remarkable. The whole world, which is rapidly coming into neighborhood relations, is recognizing as never before the real needs of mankind, and is ready to approve and strengthen all the moral forces which stand for the uplift of humanity. There must be government for the orderly and permanent development of society. There must be intercourse among peoples in the interests of commerce and growth. But, above all, there must be moral power, estab-

lished and maintained under the leadership of good men and women. The upright and far-seeing statesman, the honest and capable trader, and the devoted Christian missionary represent the combined forces which are to change the Africa of to-day into the greater and better Africa of the future.

The responsibility of America for the moral well-being of the people of Africa is manifest. Our wealth and power have given us a place of influence among the nations of the world. But world-wide influence and power mean more than dollars or social, intellectual, or industrial supremacy. They involve a responsibility for the moral welfare of others which cannot be evaded.

The United States has no territorial interests in Africa, and may never have. The Republic of Liberia was the outgrowth of immigration movements from our colored populations. But beyond a paternal interest, the United States has no organic relation with or responsibility to that Government. We are friendly to all governments on the Continent, and stand with them, to the extent of our influence, for righteous rule, especially as applied to the vast native populations. Our commercial relations, already large, will grow to vast proportions in coming years. But beyond questions of rule or traffic are the responsibilities of America as to the moral uplift of the people of Africa. This responsibility is to be met in cooperation with the Christian forces of other nations. So vast is this problem of redeeming a continent, which has lain for

thousands of years in darkness, that all sections of the Christian church must have a hand in this great work. The few score of missionaries who are now on the field from America should be multiplied in the near future, and the money contributed to Africa should be doubled over and over again year after year. It is a joy to learn that among the missionary forces in Africa, from different lands and representing different branches of the church, there are fraternal and mutually helpful relations.

The responsibility of America toward Africa is emphasized because of our past history, and because of the number of our citizens who are of African descent. As a result of the African slave trade, that crime of the ages, and of two and a half centuries of slavery in America, the United States has nearly 10,000,000 of colored people as a part of its citizenship. No other country outside of Africa has so large a negro population; and, what is more, there are no other 10,000,000 of negroes in the world who own as much property and have as large a per cent who are intelligent, moral, and thrifty. The education and uplift of the American negro now going forward should be accompanied by the increase of the missionary and Christian forces on the Continent from which his ancestors came. The number of those who go as missionaries to Africa will increase; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that a large share of the leadership for the evangelization of the Continent will be furnished from among our own colored leaders in America.

In the redemption of Africa all sections of the Christian church must be united, but Methodism, because of the vast numbers it represents and the spirit and methods of its movements, should have a share of especial note. The spirit of Methodism is the spirit of expansion and of world-wide conquests in the kingdom of righteousness. John Wesley's motto was "The world is my parish." I hope the Methodists of to-day will make this statement good.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, JANUARY 22, 1909

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith a report of the National Conservation Commission, together with the accompanying papers. This report, which is the outgrowth of the conference of governors last May, was unanimously approved by the recent joint conference held in this city between the National Conservation Commission and governors of States, State conservation commissions, and conservation committees of great organizations of citizens. It is therefore in a peculiar sense representative of the whole nation and all its parts.

With the statements and conclusions of this report I heartily concur, and I commend it to the thoughtful consideration both of the Congress and of our people generally. It is one of the most

fundamentally important documents ever laid before the American people. It contains the first inventory of its natural resources ever made by any nation. In condensed form it presents a statement of our available capital in material resources, which are the means of progress, and calls attention to the essential conditions upon which the perpetuity, safety, and welfare of this nation now rest and must always continue to rest. It deserves, and should have, the widest possible distribution among the people.

The facts set forth in this report constitute an imperative call to action. The situation they disclose demands that we, neglecting for a time, if need be, smaller and less vital questions, shall concentrate an effective part of our attention upon the great material foundations of national existence, progress, and prosperity.

This first inventory of natural resources prepared by the National Conservation Commission is undoubtedly but the beginning of a series which will be indispensable for dealing intelligently with what we have. It supplies as close an approximation to the actual facts as it was possible to prepare with the knowledge and time available. The progress of our knowledge of this country will continually lead to more accurate information and better use of the sources of national strength. But we can not defer action until complete accuracy in the estimates can be reached, because before that time many of our resources will be practically gone. It is not necessary that this inventory should be exact in every minute

detail. It is essential that it should correctly describe the general situation; and that the present inventory does. As it stands it is an irrefutable proof that the conservation of our resources is the fundamental question before this Nation, and that our first and greatest task is to set our house in order and begin to live within our means.

The first of all considerations is the permanent welfare of our people; and true moral welfare, the highest form of welfare, can not permanently exist save on a firm and lasting foundation of material well-being. In this respect our situation is far from satisfactory. After every possible allowance has been made, and when every hopeful indication has been given its full weight, the facts still give reason for grave concern. It would be unworthy of our history and our intelligence, and disastrous to our future, to shut our eyes to these facts or attempt to laugh them out of court. The people should and will rightly demand that the great fundamental questions shall be given attention by their representatives. I do not advise hasty or ill-considered action on disputed points, but I do urge, where the facts are known, where the public interest is clear, that neither indifference and inertia, nor adverse private interests, shall be allowed to stand in the way of the public good.

The great basic facts are already well known. We know that our population is now adding about one-fifth to its numbers in ten years, and that by the middle of the present century perhaps one hundred

and fifty million Americans, and by its end very many millions more, must be fed and clothed from the products of our soil. With the steady growth in population and the still more rapid increase in consumption our people will hereafter make greater and not less demands per capita upon all the natural resources for their livelihood, comfort, and convenience. It is high time to realize that our responsibility to the coming millions is like that of parents to their children, and that in wasting our resources we are wronging our descendants.

We know now that our rivers can and should be made to serve our people effectively in transportation, but that the vast expenditures for our waterways have not resulted in maintaining, much less in promoting, inland navigation. Therefore, let us take immediate steps to ascertain the reasons and to prepare and adopt a comprehensive plan for inland-waterway navigation that will result in giving the people the benefits for which they have paid but which they have not yet received. We know now that our forests are fast disappearing, that less than one-fifth of them are being conserved, and that no good purpose can be met by failing to provide the relatively small sums needed for the protection, use, and improvement of all forests still owned by the Government, and to enact laws to check the wasteful destruction of the forests in private hands. There are differences of opinion as to many public questions; but the American people stand nearly as a

unit for waterway development and for forest protection.

We know now that our mineral resources once exhausted are gone forever, and that the needless waste of them costs us hundreds of human lives and nearly $300,000,000 a year. Therefore, let us undertake without delay the investigations necessary before our people will be in position, through State action or otherwise, to put an end to this huge loss and waste, and conserve both our mineral resources and the lives of the men who take them from the earth.

I desire to make grateful acknowledgment to the men, both in and out of the Government service, who have prepared the first inventory of our natural resources. They have made it possible for this Nation to take a great step forward. Their work is helping us to see that the greatest questions before us are not partisan questions, but questions upon which men of all parties and all shades of opinion may be united for the common good. Among such questions, on the material side, the conservation of natural resources stands first. It is the bottom round of the ladder on our upward progress toward a condition in which the Nation as a whole, and its citizens as individuals, will set national efficiency and the public welfare before personal profit.

The policy of conservation is perhaps the most typical example of the general policies which this Government has made peculiarly its own during the opening years of the present century. The function

of our Government is to insure to all its citizens, now and hereafter, their rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. If we of this generation destroy the resources from which our children would otherwise derive their livelihood, we reduce the capacity of our land to support a population, and so either degrade the standard of living or deprive the coming generations of their right to life on this continent. If we allow great industrial organizations to exercise unregulated control of the means of production and the necessaries of life, we deprive the Americans of to-day and of the future of industrial liberty, a right no less precious and vital than political freedom. Industrial liberty was a fruit of political liberty, and in turn has become one of its chief supports, and exactly as we stand for political democracy so we must stand for industrial democracy.

The rights to life and liberty are fundamental, and like other fundamental necessities, when once acquired, they are little dwelt upon. The right to the pursuit of happiness is the right whose presence or absence is most likely to be felt in daily life. In whatever it has accomplished, or failed to accomplish, the administration which is just drawing to a close has at least seen clearly the fundamental need of freedom of opportunity for every citizen. We have realized that the right of every man to live his own life, provide for his family, and endeavor, according to his abilities, to secure for himself and for them a fair share of the good things of

existence, should be subject to one limitation and to no other. The freedom of the individual should be limited only by the present and future rights, interests, and needs of the other individuals who make up the community. We should do all in our power to develop and protect individual liberty, individual initiative, but subject always to the need of preserving and promoting the general good. When necessary, the private right must yield, under due process of law and with proper compensation, to the welfare of the commonwealth. The man who serves the community greatly should be greatly rewarded by the community; as there is great inequality of service so there must be great inequality of reward; but no man and no set of men should be allowed to play the game of competition with loaded dice.

All this is simply good common sense. The underlying principle of conservation has been described as the application of common sense to common problems for the common good. If the description is correct, then conservation is the great fundamental basis for National efficiency. In this stage of the world's history to be fearless, to be just, and to be efficient are the three great requirements of National life. National efficiency is the result of natural resources well handled, of freedom of opportunity for every man, and of the inherent capacity, trained ability, knowledge and will, collectively and individually, to use that opportunity.

This administration has achieved some things; it

had sought, but has not been able, to achieve others; it has doubtless made mistakes; but all it has done or attempted has been in the single, consistent effort to secure and enlarge the rights and opportunities of the men and women of the United States. We are trying to conserve what is good in our social system, and we are striving toward this end when we endeavor to do away with what is bad. Success may be made too hard for some if it is made too easy for others. The rewards of common industry and thrift may be too small if the rewards for other, and on the whole less valuable, qualities, are made too large, and especially if the rewards for qualities which are really, from the public standpoint, undesirable, are permitted to become too large. Our aim is so far as possible to provide such conditions that there shall be equality of opportunity where there is equality of energy, fidelity, and intelligence; when there is a reasonable equality of opportunity the distribution of rewards will take care of itself.

The unchecked existence of monopoly is incompatible with equality of opportunity. The reason for the exercise of government control over great monopolies is to equalize opportunity. We are fighting against privilege. It was made unlawful for corporations to contribute money for election expenses in order to abridge the power of special privilege at the polls. Railroad-rate control is an attempt to secure an equality of opportunity for all men affected by rail transportation; and that means all of us. The great anthracite coal strike was

settled, and the pressing danger of a coal famine averted, because we recognized that the control of a public necessity involves a duty to the people, and that public intervention in the affairs of a public-service corporation is neither to be resented as usurpation nor permitted as a privilege by the corporations, but on the contrary to be accepted as a duty and exercised as a right by the Government in the interest of all the people. The efficiency of the army and the navy has been increased so that our people may follow in peace the great work of making this country a better place for Americans to live in, and our navy was sent round the world for the same ultimate purpose. All the acts taken by the Government during the last seven years, and all the policies now being pursued by the Government, fit in as parts of a consistent whole.

Our public-land policy has for its aim the use of the public land so that it will promote local development by the settlement of home makers; the policy we champion is to serve all the people legitimately and openly, instead of permitting the lands to be converted, illegitimately and under cover, to the private benefit of a few. Our forest policy was established so that we might use the public forests for the permanent public good, instead of merely for temporary private gain. The reclamation act, under which the desert parts of the public domain are converted to higher uses for the general benefit, was passed so that more Americans might have homes on the land.

These policies were enacted into law and have justified their enactment. Others have failed, so far, to reach the point of action. Among such is the attempt to secure public control of the open range and thus to convert its benefits to the use of the small man, who is the home maker, instead of allowing it to be controlled by a few great cattle and sheep owners.

The enactment of a pure food law was a recognition of the fact that the public welfare outweighs the right to private gain, and that no man may poison the people for his private profit. The employers' liability bill recognized the controlling fact that while the employer usually has at stake no more than his profit, the stake of the employee is a living for himself and his family.

We are building the Panama Canal; and this means that we are engaged in the giant engineering feat of all time. We are striving to add in all ways to the habitability and beauty of our country. We are striving to hold in the public hands the remaining supply of unappropriated coal, for the protection and benefit of all the people. We have taken the first steps toward the conservation of our natural resources, and the betterment of country life, and the improvement of our waterways. We stand for the right of every child to a childhood free from grinding toil, and to an education; for the civic responsibility and decency of every citizen; for prudent foresight in public matters, and for fair play in every relation of our national and economic

life. In international matters we apply a system of diplomacy which puts the obligations of international morality on a level with those that govern the actions of an honest gentleman in dealing with his fellow-men. Within our own border we stand for truth and honesty in public and in private life; and we war sternly against wrong-doers of every grade. All these efforts are integral parts of the same attempt, the attempt to enthrone justice and righteousness, to secure freedom of opportunity to all of our citizens, now and hereafter, and to set the ultimate interest of all of us above the temporary interest of any individual, class or group.

The Nation, its government, and its resources exist, first of all, for the American citizen, whatever his creed, race, or birthplace, whether he be rich or poor, educated or ignorant, provided only that he is a good citizen recognizing his obligations to the Nation for the rights and opportunities which he owes to the Nation.

The obligations, and not the rights, of citizenship increase in proportion to the increase of a man's wealth or power. The time is coming when a man will be judged, not by what he has succeeded in getting for himself from the common store, but by how well he has done his duty as a citizen, and by what the ordinary citizen has gained in freedom of opportunity because of his service for the common good. The highest value we know is that of the individual citizen and the highest justice is to give

him fair play in the effort to realize the best there is in him.

The tasks this Nation has to do are great tasks. They can only be done at all by our citizens acting together, and they can be done best of all by the direct and simple application of homely common sense. The application of common sense to common problems for the common good, under the guidance of the principles upon which this republic was based, and by virtue of which it exists, spells perpetuity for the Nation, civil and industrial liberty for its citizens, and freedom of opportunity in the pursuit of happiness for the plain American, for whom this Nation was founded, by whom it was preserved, and through whom alone it can be perpetuated. Upon this platform—larger than party differences, higher than class prejudice, broader than any question of profit and loss—there is room for every American who realizes that the common good stands first.

The National Conservation Commission wisely confined its report to the statement of facts and principles, leaving the Executive to recommend the specific steps to which these facts and principles inevitably lead. Accordingly, I call your attention to some of the larger features of the situation disclosed by the report, and to the action thereby clearly demanded for the general good.

WATERS.

The report says:

Within recent months it has been recognized and demanded by the people, through many thousand delegates from all States assembled in convention in different sections of the country, that the waterways should and must be improved promptly and effectively as a means of maintaining National prosperity.

The first requisite for waterway improvement is the control of the waters in such manner as to reduce floods and regulate the regimen of the navigable rivers. The second requisite is development of terminals and connections in such manner as to regulate commerce.

Accordingly, I urge that the broad plan for the development of our waterways, recommended by the Inland Waterways Commission, be put in effect without delay. It provides for a comprehensive system of waterway improvement extending to all the uses of the waters and benefits to be derived from their control, including navigation, the development of power, the extension of irrigation, the drainage of swamp and overflow lands, the prevention of soil wash, and the purification of streams for water supply. It proposes to carry out the work by coordinating agencies in the federal departments through the medium of an administrative commission or board, acting in cooperation with the States and other organizations and individual citizens.

The work of waterway development should be undertaken without delay. Meritorious projects in known conformity with the general outlines of any comprehensive plan should proceed at once. The cost of the whole work should be met by direct appropriation if possible, but if necessary by the issue of bonds in small denominations.

It is especially important that the development of water power should be guarded with the utmost care both by the National Government and by the States in order to protect the people against the upgrowth of monopoly and to insure to them a fair share in the benefits which will follow the development of this great asset which belongs to the people and should be controlled by them.

FORESTS

I urge that provision be made for both protection and more rapid development of the national forests. Otherwise, either the increasing use of these forests by the people must be checked or their protection against fire must be dangerously weakened. If we compare the actual fire damage on similar areas on private and national forest lands during the past year, the government fire patrol saved commercial timber worth as much as the total cost of caring for all national forests at the present rate for about ten years.

I especially commend to the Congress the facts presented by the commission as to the relation between forests and stream flow in its bearing upon

the importance of the forest lands in National ownership. Without an understanding of this intimate relation the conservation of both these natural resources must largely fail.

The time has fully arrived for recognizing in the law the responsibility to the community, the State, and the Nation which rests upon the private owners of private lands. The ownership of forest land is a public trust. The man who would so handle his forest as to cause erosion and to injure stream flow must be not only educated, but he must be controlled.

The report of the National Conservation Commission says:

Forests in private ownership can not be conserved unless they are protected from fire. We need good fire laws, well enforced. Fire control is impossible without an adequate force of men whose sole duty is fire patrol during the dangerous season.

I hold as first among the tasks before the States and the nation in their respective shares in forest conservation the organization of efficient fire patrols and the enactment of good fire laws on the part of the States.

The report says further:

Present tax laws prevent reforestation of cut-over land and the perpetuation of existing forests by use. An annual tax upon the land itself, exclusive of the timber, and a tax upon the timber when cut is well

adapted to actual conditions of forest investment and is practicable and certain. It is far better that forest land should pay a moderate tax permanently than that it should pay an excessive revenue temporarily and then cease to yield at all.

Second only in importance to good fire laws well enforced is the enactment of tax laws which will permit the perpetuation of existing forests by use.

LANDS

With our increasing population the time is not far distant when the problem of supplying our people with food will become pressing. The possible additions to our arable area are not great, and it will become necessary to obtain much larger crops from the land, as is now done in more densely settled countries. To do this, we need better farm practice and better strains of wheat, corn, and other crop plants, with a reduction in losses from soil erosion and from insects, animals, and other enemies of agriculture. The United States Department of Agriculture is doing excellent work in these directions and it should be liberally supported.

The remaining public lands should be classified and the arable lands disposed of to home makers. In their interest the timber and stone act and the commutation clause of the homestead act should be repealed, and the desert-land law should be modified in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Lands Commission.

The use of the public grazing lands should be regulated in such ways as to improve and conserve their value.

Rights to the surface of the public land should be separated from rights to forests upon it and to minerals beneath it, and these should be subject to separate disposal.

The coal, oil, gas, and phosphate rights still remaining with the Government should be withdrawn from entry and leased under conditions favorable for economic development.

MINERALS

The accompanying reports show that the consumption of nearly all of our mineral products is increasing more rapidly than our population. Our mineral waste is about one-sixth of our product, or nearly $1,000,000 for each working day in the year. The loss of structural materials through fire is about another million a day. The loss of life in the mines is appalling. The larger part of these losses of life and property can be avoided.

Our mineral resources are limited in quantity and can not be increased or reproduced. With the rapidly increasing rate of consumption the supply will be exhausted while yet the Nation is in its infancy, unless better methods are devised or substitutes are found. Further investigation is urgently needed in order to improve methods and to develop and apply substitutes.

It is of the utmost importance that a Bureau of

Mines be established in accordance with the pending bill to reduce the loss of life in mines and the waste of mineral resources and to investigate the methods and substitutes for prolonging the duration of our mineral supplies. Both the need and the public demand for such a bureau are rapidly becoming more urgent. It should cooperate with the States in supplying data to serve as a basis for State mine regulations. The establishment of this bureau will mean merely the transfer from other bureaus of work which it is agreed should be transferred and slightly enlarged and reorganized for these purposes.

CONCLUSIONS

The joint conference already mentioned adopted two resolutions to which I call your special attention. The first was intended to promote cooperation between the States and the Nation upon all of the great questions here discussed. It is as follows:

Resolved, That a joint committee be appointed by the chairman, to consist of six members of State conservation commissions and three members of the National Conservation Commission, whose duty it shall be to prepare and present to the State and National commissions, and through them to the governors and the President, a plan for united action by all organizations concerned with the conservation of natural resources. (On motion of Governor Noel, of Mississippi, the chairman and secretary of the conference were added to and constituted a part of this committee.)

The second resolution of the joint conference to which I refer calls upon the Congress to provide the means for such cooperation. The principle of the community of interest among all our people in the great natural resources runs through the report of the National Conservation Commission and the proceedings of the joint conference. These resources, which form the common basis of our welfare, can be wisely developed, rightly used, and prudently conserved only by the common action of all the people, acting through their representatives in State and Nation. Hence the fundamental necessity for cooperation. Without it we shall accomplish but little, and that little badly. The resolution follows:

We also especially urge on the Congress of the United States the high desirability of maintaining a National commission on the conservation of the resources of the country, empowered to cooperate with State commissions to the end that every sovereign commonwealth and every section of the country may attain the high degree of prosperity and the sureness of perpetuity naturally arising in the abundant resources and the vigor, intelligence, and patriotism of our people.

In this recommendation I most heartily concur, and I urge that an appropriation of at least $50,000 be made to cover the expenses of the National Conservation Commission for necessary rent, assistance, and travelling expenses. This is a very small sum, I know of no other way in which the appropriation

of so small a sum would result in so large a benefit to the whole nation.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 22, 1909.

IN OPENING THE CONFERENCE ON DEPENDENT CHILDREN AT THE WHITE HOUSE, JANUARY 25, 1909

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In greeting you here I wish to say a word of special appreciation of the sacrifice which has been entailed upon you in coming. In this country much can be done by Governmental work; but the Governmental work will go for nothing unless we continue to be able to call upon bodies like this which I am addressing to do the disinterested work which you have done in coming here. It is a fine thing for you to have come; it is a fine thing that you are doing; and I thank you in the name of our people as a whole.

There can be no more important subject from the standpoint of the Nation than that with which you are to deal; because, when you take care of the children you are taking care of the Nation of to-morrow; and it is incumbent upon every one of us to do all in his or her power to provide for the interests of those children whom cruel misfortune has handicapped at the very outset of their lives. I earnestly hope that the members of this Conference

will take a progressive stand, so as to establish a goal toward which the whole country can work. In other words, I earnestly hope that each of you will consider not only the interests of his own immediate locality, but the interests of the Nation as a whole. There are, of course, several different types of conditions which you are trying to meet. I believe that we all of us have come to the conclusion that where possible the thing to be done for the child is to provide a home for it; and that where that is not possible, we should make the conditions as nearly as possible like those which the child would have in a home. There is ample room for all existing institutions, but the work of extension should so far as possible be a work of extension in home-placing; and where that is not possible, to make the conditions surrounding the child that cannot be put in a home, as nearly as possible like those which would obtain were the child in a home.

There are half a dozen different types of children for whom we need to care. There is first of all the complete orphan, the child who has lost both father and mother. For this child we wish to make permanent provision. My own belief is that the best kind of permanent provision, if feasible, is to place that child in a home. We then have to meet the case—one of the most distressing of cases—where the father has died, where the breadwinner has gone, where the mother would like to keep the child, but simply lacks the earning capacity. Surely in such a case the goal toward which we should strive is to

help that mother so that she can keep her own home and keep the child in it; that is the best thing possible to be done for that child. How the relief shall come, public, private, or by a mixture of both, in what way, you are competent to say and I am not. But I am competent to say what I think the goal should be. Then we come to the case of the child who must temporarily be taken away from the parent or parents but where it is not desirable that the separation should be permanent. Those children offer cases for which the institution is peculiarly fitted. There are other problems, of course, that you will have to deal with—for instance the crippled child, the child that can not be treated at home for a disease but yet can be completely cured in a hospital; and the case of the child whose parents are hopelessly vicious or hopelessly inefficient. Here we must provide for the exercising of the greatest wisdom obtainable in knowing just where to draw the line; so as to know just when it becomes necessary to say that even the undoubted advantages of keeping the child in a pretty poor home if that home is its own, are counterbalanced by the fact that the home has become not a source of benefit but a source of menace and danger to the child. You will have to consider a dozen such problems.

The Government can do much. But never forget that the Government can not do everything; there must always be help by individuals and associations outside; that religious and philanthropic associations of many different kinds must cooperate with the

Government or we can not get the best results. Another thing as to the Government itself. Remember always that "Government" is not merely an abstract term. The Government consists of the men in it, and if you do not have the right men handling any part of a great governmental system, then that part will work badly. In the last analysis the human equation is the vital equation in dealing with all these questions. The wit of man can not devise a system so perfect that it will work well unless it is worked by men both good and wise and unless outsiders who take a genuine interest in the matter also give their aid and exercise their supervision.

Let me say again before leaving how much I appreciate your having come here, and the importance of the work which has brought you. I look forward to meeting you to-morrow evening, when I shall hear what plan or plans this body has adopted and what resolutions it presents.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 5, 1909

To the House of Representatives:

I herewith return, without approval, H. R. 16954, entitled "An act to provide for the Thirteenth and subsequent decennial censuses." I do this with extreme reluctance, because I fully realize the importance of supplying the Director of the Census at as early a date as possible with the force necessary to

the carrying on of his work. But it is of high consequence to the country that the statistical work of the census shall be conducted with entire accuracy. This is as important from the standpoint of business and industry as from the scientific standpoint. It is, therefore, in my judgment, essential that the result should not be open to the suspicion of bias on political and personal grounds; that it should not be open to the reasonable suspicion of being a waste of the people's money and a fraud.

Section 7 of the act provides in effect that appointments to the census shall be under the spoils system, for this is the real meaning of the provision that they shall be subject only to non-competitive examination. The proviso is added that they shall be selected without regard to political party affiliations. But there is only one way to guarantee that they shall be selected without regard to politics and on merit, and that is by choosing them after competitive examination from the lists of eligibles provided by the Civil Service Commission. The present Director of the Census in his last report states the exact fact about these non-competitive examinations when he says:

"A non-competitive examination means that every one of the many thousands who will pass the examinations will have an equal right to appointment, and that personal and political pressure must in the end, as always before, become the determining factor with regard to the great body of these temporary employments. I can not too earnestly urge that the

Director of the Census be relieved from this unfortunate situation."

To provide that the clerks and other employees shall be appointed after non-competitive examination, and yet to provide that they shall be selected without regard to political party affiliations, means merely that the appointments shall be treated as the perquisites of the politicians of both parties, instead of as the perquisites of the politicians of one party. I do not believe in the doctrine that to the victor belong the spoils; but I think even less of the doctrine that the spoils shall be divided without a fight by the professional politicians on both sides; and this would be the result of permitting the bill in its present shape to become a law. Both of the last censuses, the Eleventh and the Twelfth, were taken under a provision of law excluding competition; that is, necessitating the appointments being made under the spoils system. Every man competent to speak with authority because of his knowledge of and familiarity with the work of those censuses has stated that the result was to produce extravagance and demoralization. Mr. Robert P. Porter, who took the census of 1890, states that—

"The efficiency of the decennial census would be greatly improved and its cost materially lessened if it were provided that the employees should be selected in accordance with the terms of the civil service law."

Mr. Frederick H. Wines, the Assistant Director of the Census of 1900, states as follows:

"A mathematical scale was worked out by which the number of 'assignments' to each Senator and Representative was determined in advance, so many appointments to a Senator, a smaller number to a Representative, half as many to a Democrat as a Republican, and in Democratic States and congressional districts the assignments were made to the Republican State and district committees. The assignees named in the first instance the persons to be examined. They were afterwards furnished each with a list of those named who had 'passed' and requested to name those who they desired to have appointed. Vacancies were filled in the same manner. This system was thoroughly satisfactory to the majority of the politicians interested, though there were a few who refused to have anything to do with it. The effect upon the bureau was, as may readily be imagined, thoroughly demoralizing."

Mr. Carroll D. Wright, who had charge of the Census Bureau after the census of 1890, estimates that $2,000,000, and more than a year's time, would have been saved if the census force had been brought into the classified service, and adds:

"I do not hesitate to say one-third of the amount expended under my own administration was absolutely wasted, and wasted principally on account of the fact that the office was not under civil service rules. * * * In October, 1893, when I took charge of the Census Office, there was an office force of 1,092. There had been a constant reduction for many months and this was kept up without cessation

till the close of the census. There was never a month after October, 1893, that the clerical force reached the number then in office; nevertheless, while these general reductions were being made and in the absence of any necessity for the increase of the force, 389 new appointments were made."

This of course meant the destruction of economy and efficiency for purely political considerations.

In view of the temporary character of the work, it would be well to waive the requirements of the civil service law as regards geographical apportionment, but the appointees should be chosen by competitive examination from the lists provided by the Civil Service Commission. The non-competitive examination in a case like this is not only vicious, but is in effect a fraud upon the public. No essential change is effected by providing that it be conducted by the Civil Service Commission; and to provide that the employees shall be selected without regard to political party affiliations is empty and misleading, unless, at the same time, it is made effective in the only way in which it is possible to make it effective, that is by providing that the examination shall be made competitive.

I also recommend that if provision is made that the census printing work may be done outside the Government Printing Office, it shall be explicitly provided that the Government authorities shall see that the eight-hour law is applied in effective fashion to these outside offices.

Outside of these matters, I believe that the bill is,

on the whole, satisfactory and represents an improvement upon previous legislation on the subject. But it is of vital consequence that we should not once again permit the usefulness of this great decennial undertaking on behalf of the whole people to be marred by permitting it to be turned into an engine to further the self-interest of that small section of the people which makes a profession of politics. The evil effects of the spoils system and of the custom of treating appointments to the public service as personal perquisities of professional politicians are peculiarly evident in the case of a great public work like the taking of the census, a work which should emphatically be done for the whole people and with an eye single to their interest.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
February 5, 1909.

STATEMENT ON THE GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE REGARDING CALIFORNIA AND JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

HON. P. A. STANTON,
Speaker of the Assembly,
Sacramento, California.

February 8, 1909.

I trust there will be no misunderstanding of the Federal Government's attitude. We are jealously endeavoring to guard the interest of California and of the entire West in accordance with the desires of our western people. By friendly agreement with

Japan we are now carrying out a policy which, while meeting the interests and desires of the Pacific slope, is yet compatible not merely with mutual self-respect, but with mutual esteem and admiration between the Americans and Japanese. The Japanese Government is loyally and in good faith doing its part to carry out this policy, precisely as the American Government is doing. The policy aims at mutuality of obligation and behavior. In accordance with it the purpose is that the Japanese shall come here exactly as Americans go to Japan, which is in effect that travellers, students, persons engaged in international business, men who sojourn for pleasure or study, and the like, shall have the freest access from one country to the other, and shall be sure of the best treatment, but that there shall be no settlement in mass by the people of either country in the other. During the last six months under this policy more Japanese have left the country than have come in, and the total number in the United States has diminished by over two thousand. These figures are absolutely accurate and can not be impeached. In other words, if the present policy is consistently followed and works as well in the future as it is now working, all difficulties and causes of friction will disappear, while at the same time each nation will retain its self-respect and the good will of the other. But such a bill as this school bill accomplishes literally nothing whatever in the line of the object aimed at and gives just and grave cause for irritation; while in addition the United States Government

would be obliged immediately to take action in the Federal courts to test such legislation, as we hold it to be clearly a violation of the treaty. On this point I refer you to the numerous decisions of the United States Supreme Court in regard to State laws which violate treaty obligations of the United States. The legislation would accomplish nothing beneficial and would certainly cause some mischief, and might cause very grave mischief. In short, the policy of the administration is to combine the maximum of efficiency in achieving the real object which the people of the Pacific slope have at heart, with the minimum of friction and trouble, while the misguided men who advocate such action as this against which I protest are following a policy which combines the very minimum of efficiency with the maximum of insult, and which, while totally failing to achieve any real result for good, yet might accomplish an infinity of harm. If in the next year or two the action of the Federal Government fails to achieve what it is now achieving, then through the further action of the President and Congress it can be made entirely efficient, I am sure that the sound judgment of the people of California will support you, Mr. Speaker, in your effort. Let me repeat that at present we are actually doing the very thing which the people of California wish to be done, and to upset the arrangement under which this is being done can not do good and may do great harm. If in the next year or two the figures of immigration prove that the arrangement which has worked so successfully during

the last six months is no longer working successfully, then there would be ground for grievance, and for the reversal by the National Government of its present policy. But at present the policy is working well, and until it works badly it would be a grave misfortune to change it, and when changed it can only be changed effectively by the National Government.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 9, 1909

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith the report of the Commission on Country Life. At the outset I desire to point out that not a dollar of the public money has been paid to any commissioner for his work on the Commission.

The report shows the general condition of farming life in the open country, and points out its larger problems; it indicates ways in which the Government, National and State, may show the people how to solve some of these problems; and it suggests a continuance of the work which the Commission began.

Judging by thirty public hearings, to which farmers and farmers' wives from forty States and Territories came, and from 120,000 answers to printed questions sent out by the Department of Agriculture,

the Commission finds that the general level of country life is high compared with any preceding time or with any other land. If it has in recent years slipped down in some places, it has risen in more places. Its progress has been general, if not uniform.

Yet farming does not yield either the profit or the satisfaction that it ought to yield and may be made to yield. There is discontent in the country, and in places discouragement. Farmers as a class do not magnify their calling, and the movement to the towns, though, I am happy to say, less than formerly, is still strong.

Under our system, it is helpful to promote discussion of ways in which the people can help themselves. There are three main directions in which the farmers can help themselves; namely, better farming, better business, and better living on the farm. The National Department of Agriculture, which has rendered services equaled by no other similar department in any other time or place; the State departments of agriculture; the State colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts, especially through their extension work; the State agricultural experiment stations; the Farmers' Union; the Grange; the agricultural press; and other similar agencies, have all combined to place within the reach of the American farmer an amount and quality of agricultural information which, if applied, would enable him, over large areas, to double the production of the farm.

The object of the Commission on Country Life therefore is not to help the farmer raise better crops, but to call his attention to the opportunities for better business and better living on the farm. If country life is to become what it should be, and what I believe it ultimately will be—one of the most dignified, desirable, and sought-after ways of earning a living—the farmer must take advantage not only of the agricultural knowledge which is at his disposal, but of the methods which have raised and continue to raise the standards of living and of intelligence in other callings.

Those engaged in all other industrial and commercial callings have found it necessary, under modern economic conditions, to organize themselves for mutual advantage and for the protection of their own particular interests in relation to other interests. The farmers of every progressive European country have realized this essential fact and have found in the cooperative system exactly the form of business combination they need.

Now whatever the State may do toward improving the practice of agriculture, it is not within the sphere of any government to reorganize the farmers' business or reconstruct the social life of farming communities. It is, however, quite within its power to use its influence and the machinery of publicity which it can control for calling public attention to the needs and the facts. For example, it is the obvious duty of the Government to call the attention of farmers to the growing monopolization of water

power. The farmers above all should have that power, on reasonable terms, for cheap transportation, for lighting their homes, and for innumerable uses in the daily tasks on the farm.

It would be idle to assert that life on the farm occupies as good a position in dignity, desirability, and business results as the farmers might easily give it if they chose. One of the chief difficulties is the failure of country life, as it exists at present, to satisfy the higher social and intellectual aspirations of country people. Whether the constant draining away of so much of the best elements in the rural population into the towns is due chiefly to this cause or to the superior business opportunities of city life may be open to question. But no one at all familiar with farm life throughout the United States can fail to recognize the necessity for building up the life of the farm upon its social as well as upon its productive side.

It is true that country life has improved greatly in attractiveness, health, and comfort, and that the farmer's earnings are higher than they were. But city life is advancing even more rapidly, because of the greater attention which is being given by the citizens of the towns to their own betterment. For just this reason the introduction of effective agricultural cooperation throughout the United States is of the first importance. Where farmers are organized cooperatively they not only avail themselves much more readily of business opportunities and improved methods, but it is found that the organiza-

tions which bring them together in the work of their lives are used also for social and intellectual advancement.

The cooperative plan is the best plan of organization wherever men have the right spirit to carry it out. Under this plan any business undertaking is managed by a committee; every man has one vote and only one vote; and every one gets profits according to what he sells or buys or supplies. It develops individual responsibility and has a moral as well as a financial value over any other plan.

I desire only to take counsel with the farmers as fellow-citizens. It is not the problem of the farmers alone that I am discussing with them, but a problem which affects every city as well as every farm in the country. It is a problem which the working farmers will have to solve for themselves; but it is a problem which also affects in only less degree all the rest of us, and therefore if we can render any help toward its solution, it is not only our duty but our interest to do so.

The foregoing will, I hope, make it clear why I appointed a commission to consider problems of farm life which have hitherto had far too little attention, and the neglect of which has not only held back life in the country, but also lowered the efficiency of the whole Nation. The welfare of the farmer is of vital consequence to the welfare of the whole community. The strengthening of country life, therefore, is the strengthening of the whole Nation.

The Commission has tried to help the farmers to see clearly their own problem and to see it as a whole; to distinguish clearly between what the Government can do and what the farmers must do for themselves; and it wishes to bring not only the farmers but the Nation as a whole to realize that the growing of crops, though an essential part, is only a part of country life. Crop growing is the essential foundation; but it is no less essential that the farmer shall get an adequate return for what he grows; and it is no less essential—indeed it is literally vital—that he and his wife and his children shall lead the right kind of life.

For this reason, it is of the first importance that the United States Department of Agriculture, through which as prime agent the ideas the Commission stands for must reach the people, should become without delay in fact a Department of Country Life, fitted to deal not only with crops, but also with all the larger aspects of life in the open country.

From all that has been done and learned three great general and immediate needs of country life stand out:

First, effective cooperation among farmers, to put them on a level with the organized interests with which they do business.

Second, a new kind of schools in the country, which shall teach the children as much outdoors as indoors and perhaps more, so that they will prepare

for country life, and not as at present, mainly for life in town.

Third, better means of communication, including good roads and a parcels post, which the country people are everywhere, and rightly, unanimous in demanding.

To these may well be added better sanitation; for easily preventable diseases hold several million country people in the slavery of continuous ill health.

The Commission points out, and I concur in the conclusion, that the most important help that the Government, whether National or State, can give is to show the people how to go about these tasks of organization, education, and communication with the best and quickest results. This can be done by the collection and spread of information. One community can thus be informed of what other communities have done, and one country of what other countries have done. Such help by the people's government would lead to a comprehensive plan of organization, education, and communication, and make the farming country better to live in, for intellectual and social reasons as well as for purely agricultural reasons.

The Government through the Department of Agriculture does not cultivate any man's farm for him. But it does put at his service useful knowledge that he would not otherwise get. In the same way the National and State Governments might put into the people's hands the new and right knowledge of school work. The task of maintaining and develop-

ing the schools would remain, as now, with the people themselves.

The only recommendation I submit is that an appropriation of $25,000 be provided, to enable the Commission to digest the material it has collected, and to collect and to digest much more that is within its reach, and thus complete its work. This would enable the Commission to gather in the harvest of suggestion which is resulting from the discussion it has stirred up. The commissioners have served without compensation, and I do not recommend any appropriation for their services, but only for the expenses that will be required to finish the task that they have begun.

To improve our system of agriculture seems to me the most urgent of the tasks which lie before us. But it cannot, in my judgment, be effected by measures which touch only the material and technical side of the subject; the whole business and life of the farmer must also be taken into account. Such considerations led me to appoint the Commission on Country Life. Our object should be to help develop in the country community the great ideals of community life as well as of personal character. One of the most important adjuncts to this end must be the country church, and I invite your attention to what the Commission says of the country church and of the need of an extension of such work as that of the Young Men's Christian Association in country communities. Let me lay special emphasis upon what the Commission says at the very end of its

report on personal ideals and local leadership. Everything resolves itself in the end into the question of personality. Neither society nor government can do much for country life unless there is voluntary response in the personal ideals of the men and women who live in the country. In the development of character, the home should be more important than the school, or than society at large. When once the basic material needs have been met, high ideals may be quite independent of income; but they can not be realized without sufficient income to provide adequate foundation; and where the community at large is not financially prosperous it is impossible to develop a high average personal and community ideal. In short, the fundamental facts of human nature apply to men and women who live in the country just as they apply to men and women who live in the towns. Given a sufficient foundation of material well-being, the influence of the farmers and farmers' wives on their children becomes the factor of first importance in determining the attitude of the next generation toward farm life. The farmer should realize that the person who most needs consideration on the farm is his wife. I do not in the least mean that she should purchase ease at the expense of duty. Neither man nor woman is really happy or really useful save on condition of doing his or her duty. If the woman shirks her duty as housewife, as home keeper, as the mother whose prime function it is to bear and rear a sufficient number of healthy children, then she is not entitled to

our regard. But if she does her duty she is more entitled to our regard even than the man who does his duty; and the man should show special consideration for her needs.

I warn my countrymen that the great recent progress made in city life is not a full measure of our civilization; for our civilization rests at bottom on the wholesomeness, the attractiveness, and the completeness, as well as the prosperity, of life in the country. The men and women on the farms stand for what is fundamentally best and most needed in our American life. Upon the development of country life rests ultimately our ability, by methods of farming requiring the highest intelligence, to continue to feed and clothe the hungry nations; to supply the city with fresh blood, clean bodies, and clear brains that can endure the terrific strain of modern life; we need the development of men in the open country, who will be in the future, as in the past, the stay and strength of the Nation in time of war, and its guiding and controlling spirit in time of peace.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
February 9, 1909.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 15, 1909

On January 25-26, 1909, there assembled in this city, on my invitation, a Conference on the Care of Dependent Children. To this Conference there came from nearly every State in the Union men and

women actively engaged in the care of dependent children, and they represented all the leading religious bodies.

The subject considered is one of high importance to the well-being of the Nation. The Census Bureau reported in 1904 that there were in orphanages and children's homes about 93,000 dependent children. There are probably 50,000 more (the precise number never having been ascertained) in private homes, either on board or in adopted homes provided by the generosity of foster parents. In addition to these there were 25,000 children in institutions for juvenile delinquents.

Each of these children represents either a potential addition to the productive capacity and the enlightened citizenship of the Nation, or, if allowed to suffer from neglect, a potential addition to the destructive forces of the community. The ranks of criminals and other enemies of society are recruited in an altogether undue proportion from children bereft of their natural homes and left without sufficient care.

The interests of the Nation are involved in the welfare of this army of children no less than in our great material affairs.

Notwithstanding a wide diversity of views and methods represented in the Conference, and notwithstanding the varying legislative enactments and policies of the States from which the members came, the conference, at the close of its sessions, unanimously adopted a series of declarations express-

ing the conclusions which they had reached. These constitute a wise, constructive, and progressive programme of child-caring work. If given full effect by the proper agencies, existing methods and practices in almost every community would be profoundly and advantageously modified.

More significant even than the contents of the declarations is the fact that they were adopted without dissenting vote and with every demonstration of hearty approval on the part of all present. They constitute a standard of accepted opinion by which each community should measure the adequacy of its existing methods and to which each community should seek to conform its legislation and its practice.

The keynote of the Conference was expressed in these words:

"Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons."

Surely poverty alone should not disrupt the home. Parents of good character suffering from temporary misfortune, and above all deserving mothers fairly well able to work but deprived of the support of the normal breadwinner, should be given such aid as may be necessary to enable them to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of their children. The widowed or deserted mother, if a good woman, willing to work and to do her best, should ordinarily be helped in such fashion as will enable her to bring

up her children herself in their natural home. Children from unfit homes, and children who have no homes, who must be cared for by charitable agencies, should, so far as practicable, be cared for in families.

I transmit herewith for your information a copy of the conclusions reached by the Conference, of which the following is a brief summary:

1. *Home care.*—Children of worthy parents or deserving mothers should, as a rule, be kept with their parents at home.

2. *Preventive work.*—The effort should be made to eradicate causes of dependency, such as disease and accident, and to substitute compensation and insurance for relief.

3. *Home finding.*—Homeless and neglected children, if normal, should be cared for in families, when practicable.

4. *Cottage system.*—Institutions should be on the cottage plan with small units, as far as possible.

5. *Incorporation.*—Agencies caring for dependent children should be incorporated, on approval of a suitable State board.

6. *State inspection.*—The State should inspect the work of all agencies which care for dependent children.

7. *Inspection of educational work.*—Educational work of institutions and agencies caring for dependent children should be supervised by State educational authorities.

8. *Facts and records.*—Complete histories of dependent children and their parents, based upon per-

sonal investigation and supervision, should be recorded for guidance of child-caring agencies.

9. *Physical care.*—Every needy child should receive the best medical and surgical attention, and be instructed in health and hygiene.

10. *Cooperation.*—Local child-caring agencies should cooperate and establish joint bureaus of information.

11. *Undesirable legislation.*—Prohibitive legislation against transfer of dependent children between States should be repealed.

12. *Permanent organization.*—A permanent organization for work along the lines of these resolutions is desirable.

13. *Federal Children's Bureau.*—Establishment of a Federal Children's Bureau is desirable, and enactment of pending bills is earnestly recommended.

14. Suggest special message to Congress favoring Federal Children's Bureau and other legislation applying above principles to District of Columbia and other Federal territory.

While it is recognized that these conclusions can be given their fullest effect only by the action of the several States or communities concerned, or of their charitable agencies, the Conference requested me, in section 14 of the conclusions, to send to you a message recommending Federal action.

There are pending in both Houses of Congress bills for the establishment of a Children's Bureau, i. e., Senate bill No. 8323 and House bill No. 24148.

These provide for a Children's Bureau in the Department of the Interior which "shall investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, physical degeneracy, orphanage, juvenile delinquency and juvenile courts, desertion and illegitimacy, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children of the working classes, employment, legislation affecting children in the several States and Territories, and such other facts as have a bearing upon the health, efficiency, character, and training of children."

One of the needs felt most acutely by the Conference was that of accurate information concerning these questions relating to childhood. The National Government not only has the unquestioned right of research in such vital matters, but is the only agency which can effectively conduct such general inquiries as are needed for the benefit of all our citizens. In accordance with the unanimous request of the Conference, I therefore most heartily urge your favorable action on these measures.

It is not only discreditable to us as a people that there is now no recognized and authoritative source of information upon these subjects relating to child life, but in the absence of such information as should be supplied by the Federal Government many abuses have gone unchecked; for public sentiment, with its great corrective power, can only be aroused by full knowledge of the facts. In addition to such in-

formation as the Census Bureau and other existing agencies of the Federal Government already provide, there remains much to be ascertained through lines of research not now authorized by law; and there should be correlation and dissemination of the knowledge obtained without any duplication of effort or interference with what is already being done. There are few things more vital to the welfare of the Nation than accurate and dependable knowledge of the best methods of dealing with children, especially with those who are in one way or another handicapped by misfortune; and in the absence of such knowledge each community is left to work out its own problem without being able to learn of and profit by the success or failure of other communities along the same lines of endeavor. The bills for the establishment of the Children's Bureau are advocated not only by this Conference, but by a large number of national organizations that are disinterestedly working for the welfare of children, and also by philanthropic, educational, and religious bodies in all parts of the country.

I further urge that such legislation be enacted as may be necessary in order to bring the laws and practices in regard to the care of dependent children in all Federal territory into harmony with the other conclusions reached by the Conference.

LEGISLATION FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Congress took a step in the direction of the conclusions of this Conference in 1893, when, on the

recommendation of the late Amos G. Warner, then Superintendent of Charities for the District of Columbia, the Board of Children's Guardians was created, with authority, among other things, to place children in family homes. That Board has made commendable progress and its work should be strengthened and extended.

I recommend legislation for the District of Columbia in accordance with the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth sections of the conclusions of the Conference, as follows:

1. That the approval of the Board of Charities be required for the incorporation of all child-caring agencies, as well as amendments of the charter of any benevolent corporation which includes child-caring work, and that other than duly incorporated agencies be forbidden to engage in the care of needy children. This legislation is needed in order to insure the fitness and responsibility of those who propose to undertake the care of helpless children. Such laws have long been in satisfactory operation in several of the larger States of the Union.

2. That the Board of Charities, through its duly authorized agents, shall inspect the work of all agencies which care for dependent children, whether by institutional or by home-finding methods, and whether supported by public or private funds. The State has always jealously guarded the interests of children whose parents have been able to leave them property by requiring the appointment of a guardian, under bond, accountable directly to the courts,

even though there be a competent surviving parent. Surely the interests of the child who is not only an orphan but penniless ought to be no less sacred than those of the more fortunate orphan who inherits property. If the protection of the Government is necessary in the one case it is even more necessary in the other. If we are to require that only incorporated institutions shall be allowed to engage in this responsible work, it is necessary to provide for public inspection, lest the State should become the unconscious partner of those who either from ignorance or inefficiency are unsuited to deal with the problem.

3. That the education of children in orphan asylums and other similar institutions in the District of Columbia be under the supervision of the Board of Education, in order that these children may enjoy educational advantages equal to those of the other children. Normal school life comes next to normal home life in the process of securing the fullest development of the child.

4. That all agencies engaged in child-caring work in the District of Columbia be required by law to adopt adequate methods of investigation and make permanent records relative to children under their care, and to exercise faithful personal supervision over their wards until legally adopted or otherwise clearly beyond the need of further supervision; the forms and methods of such investigation, records, and supervision to be prescribed and enforced by the Board of Charities.

I deem such legislation as is herein recommended not only important for the welfare of the children immediately concerned, but important as setting an example of a high standard of child protection by the National Government to the several States of the Union, which should be able to look to the Nation for leadership in such matters.

I herewith transmit a copy of the full text of the proceedings.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
February 15, 1909.

TO THE DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE ON THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF NORTH AMERICA, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, FEBRUARY, 18, 1909

Gentlemen:

I wish to extend on behalf of the American people the heartiest welcome to the representatives of Canada and Mexico who are here present. I am sure I give expression to the feelings of my countrymen when I say that nothing has augured better for the development of this entire continent on the lines along which it should develop than this meeting. I appreciate the courtesy which has been shown by the Governments of Great Britain and Canada and of Mexico in sending you gentlemen here as representatives. The members of our own National Conservation Commission and the experts who prepared our inventory of national resources are present and

are at any time at the service of you gentlemen, if you desire to hear from them; and any information that they have in their possession is at your disposal. Gentlemen, this conference represents one of the many steps that have been taken of recent years looking toward a harmonious cooperation between the nations of the earth for the common advancement of all. In international relations the great feature of the growth of the last century has been the gradual recognition of the fact that instead of its being normally to the interest of one nation to see another depressed, it is normally to the interest of each nation to see the others elevated. Fundamentally it is the same with nations as it is with individuals. You will find that as a rule the most prosperous man is the man who lives in a prosperous community; as a rule the man is prosperous who has prosperous people to deal with, who carries on his business with other prosperous people, who has prosperous people round about him. You know that of your own experience. You know that a poor locality is just the locality where it is hardest for the ablest type of man to do well. The ablest man will do best where his neighbors also do well. It is just so with us as nations. In commercial relations the trade of one nation is greatest not with the poor and backward nation, but with the rich and progressive nation. Study the trade returns, and see where on the average the best customers of any nation are found; the best customers, on the average, are the prosperous nations. When one nation strides

forward along the path of civilization, as a rule that progress means the uplifting of nations generally (I am speaking subject, as one always must, to certain exceptions; occasionally a nation rises at the expense of another; what I say does not apply to such cases).

The movement that you gentlemen are beginning, of national cooperation for the conservation of national and international resources, marks another stage in the advance along these lines. Each nation will be left absolutely free, of course, to exercise its own wisdom in dealing with the things that concern itself; but it will be given the chance to profit by the wisdom of other nations; and I know of no nation or no individual that cannot profit by the wisdom of others. In addition, the opportunity will be given to all of us to join together in doing the work that can best be done in union, by all or some of us, as compared with doing it each one separately. With nations whose boundaries march along a great extent of land frontier, as with Canada, the United States, and Mexico, there are necessarily large tracts of land in which the welfare of the people depends upon the action not only of that country, but of the neighboring country. This of course is especially true where our streams are concerned. You cannot cut down the forests on the headwaters of an international stream without having it hurt both nations. I am anxious to do all that in me lies to help you gentlemen in getting our several peoples to come together with the idea of working in harmony for

the common good instead of working each to get something at the expense of the other. Ultimately each of us will profit immeasurably if, instead of striving to advance by trampling down the other, each strives to advance by joining with the other for the common advancement.

I welcome you on behalf of our people. I think it is of good augury for the North American continent that you should be here; and I believe that the movement which you this day initiate is one of the utmost importance to this hemisphere, and may become of the utmost importance to the world at large.

LETTER TO HON. EUGENE HALE CONCERNING THE SECRET SERVICE

February 19, 1909.

SIR:

I have seen the report presented by Senator Hemenway on behalf of your Committee in reference to the Secret Service matter. The report is inaccurate and misleading in various important respects, and I desire to make certain corrections in reference to statements which appear therein, and in the subsequent debate.

Until last year the Secret Service, a small body of sixty or seventy men in the Treasury Department under Chief Wilkie, was practically the only body of public servants engaged almost purely in criminal investigation. The Secret Service men were assigned at different times to different departments

to investigate crime and criminals. They were thus assigned on different occasions, for instance to the State and Navy Departments; but above all to the Interior Department and the Department of Justice. During the seven years of my administration they were instrumental in bringing to justice great numbers of criminals. I append herewith the occasions on which they were furnished by the request of the Attorney-General to the Department of Justice during the year 1907 and the first six months of 1908. They rendered invaluable assistance in securing the conviction of many criminals of desperate character, and of many other offenders of great wealth and of social and political prominence. In not one single instance during these seven years has it been shown that their action jeopardized any man who was not connected with illegal transactions. In not a single instance has it been shown that they took any but proper steps against a criminal. No pretence has been made that they did not do their work against criminals efficiently. I desire to put on record my emphatic belief that the Secret Service under Chief Wilkie has been composed of men of an exceptionally high grade of character and capacity, who have rendered exceptional service to the public, and that Chief Wilkie himself, in a very trying and responsible position, has shown qualities of the highest kind, and has been one of the main standbys of the Government. No other man in the Government employ is so dreaded and hated by lawbreakers, and they especially desire to see his

activities, and those of the men under him, restricted in every way.

Congress last year forbade by law the use of the Secret Service men to put a stop to crime aside from counterfeiting; and thereby not only hampered justice in other Departments, but deprived the Secretary of the Treasury, the official guardian of a billion and a half of the Nation's actual money, of the power effectively to exercise that guardianship. Moreover, the Congress provided no substitute whatever for the Secret Service. In consequence, the Department of Justice was obliged to develop as speedily as possible its own corps of special detectives to take the place of the Secret Service agents which it had previously used; and the nucleus of this force was made up of officers formerly connected with the Secret Service and trained in its methods. I call your especial attention to the fact that if the Department of Justice had not taken this action there would have been a complete failure to enforce the law against many types of criminals; and as it was, in the early months of the present fiscal year, during the Morse prosecution in New York, and in connection with certain other important cases, serious inconvenience and anxiety were caused to the prosecuting officers by this action of Congress in depriving them of the aid of the experienced operatives of the Secret Service on whom they had been accustomed to rely. I call your attention to the further fact that the Department of Justice had never taken any steps to organize this force so long

as it could get men detailed to it from the Secret Service. In other words, the action of the Congress in reference to the Secret Service would have caused the grossest miscarriage of justice had it not been in large part nullified by the prompt action of the Department of Justice, on its own initiative, and without any further legislation of any kind by the Congress, in providing a species of Secret Service within the Department of Justice itself.

Your Committee in its report states that it has never been the intention of the Congress to build up a "spy" system. The next sentence, however, advocates the building up of precisely this "spy" system in the Department of Justice. Not only have I again and again requested that the Secret Service be placed under the Department of Justice, but the chief of the Secret Service has himself specifically requested on different occasions that the same course be followed. As regards the general policy which should be followed, therefore, your Committee has declared for the policy the adoption of which I have urged, and all the difficulties would be met by providing specifically and amply for carrying out that policy. Chief Wilkie should be transferred to the Department of Justice, and put at the head of the force therein organized.

But in your report, and the subsequent debate, direct and indirect attacks are made upon the Secret Service, with a curious persistency, and a curious indifference to the fact that your Committee recommends that a precisely similar Secret Service to the

one attacked be now established in the Department of Justice; and be it observed that no limitation is proposed for the new Secret Service; so that the limitation is only imposed upon the Secret Service which has already shown its efficiency and has already become an object of terror to criminals. Senator Hemenway states that "there are more than three thousand men now in the Secret Service and inspection work of the Government;" and that in the last few years the number has trebled; and that if they were to march through the streets of Washington they would make an "army"; while it was also stated in the same debate that at the close of President McKinley's administration there were only "167" such men on the pay-roll, whereas it was alleged that we now have "over 3,000," and that the appropriations on that account for last year amounted to "about $10,000,000." These statements are not in accordance with the facts. I submit to you herewith a substantially, although not entirely, accurate statement of the number of men employed on "Secret Service work" or "criminal investigation" work during the year that has just passed, as compared with the years 1901-1902. Owing to the very brief period which I have had to get at these figures, it was impossible to get them with entire accuracy, but they are not out of the way more than a score or so in either direction. According to these figures it appears that in the neighborhood of 1,200 men of this type were employed seven years ago, and somewhat over 1,900 now; that is, instead of having trebled

in number in accordance with one of the statements made above, instead of having increased nearly twenty-fold in accordance with the other statement, they have increased but a little over one-half, a little over fifty per cent. Moreover, of this increase considerably over half was in the number of men used in securing the punishment of violators of the internal revenue laws, a matter wholly outside of that discussed by any of the gentlemen who have objected to the use of the Secret Service. The remaining increase is due to such causes as the natural growth of the Post-Office Department, the appointment of individuals to enforce the pure food and the meat inspection laws, the more rigorous enforcement of the Safety Appliance act, the suppression of the liquor traffic among the Indians, the protection of the public lands and timber, and the like. I call your especial attention to the fact that the great majority of these men are not primarily or mainly or indeed ordinarily engaged on secret service or criminal investigation or inspection work at all; I have employed these terms merely because they were so employed by members of your committee and others in the course of the debates in the House and Senate; but they are entirely misleading in so far as they give an impression that the chief work of the men mentioned was of the character assigned it by Senator Hemenway and others in the quotations given above and in similar statements. As regards nineteen-twentieths of these men, the proportion of their time given to Secret Service work or

criminal investigation is altogether insignificant and is only an occasional incident of their ordinary duties. To speak of these men as having become an "army" or as "3,000 men engaged in Secret Service" and similar work is comically out of accord with the actual facts. The increase was 700 men, of whom but a score or two habitually engaged in "Secret Service work." As for the amount expended the statements in the debate in both Houses are so exaggerated as to bear no reference whatever to the actual figures. Thus it was stated that two-thirds of the money appropriated for the Department of Justice was spent in criminal investigation. As a matter of fact, the Attorney-General reports to me that the appropriation so spent, construed on the most liberal possible basis, was in reality one and seven-tenths per cent, so that the statement in question was a thirty-fold exaggeration. In the same way it was stated that $10,000,000 (or as one gentleman put it, that $20,000,000) represented the amount expended for this Secret Service work, while the totals of another set of figures amount to $32,000,000 as money which could have been expended for such work. A table carefully compiled covering all the departments shows the amount actually expended during the first six months of the present fiscal year, in all work that can by any possibility be considered to come under this heading, as a little less than $764,000,—an estimated total for the entire fiscal year of approximately $1,600,000; which goes to show that the statements referred to contain

only from five to seventeen per cent of warrant in fact.

Senator Hemenway quoted the Secretary of the Interior as the authority for the statement that but one Secret Service man was ever detailed to the Interior Department. This statement of Senator Hemenway is completely misleading. The Secret Service men were used in the Interior Department cases at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, but for convenience in operation they were assigned to and paid by the Department of Justice. This has been set forth with the utmost clearness again and again in the reports of the Interior Department. As the prosecutions had to be carried on by the Department of Justice, it was desirable that the Secret Service men should work with and under the Department of Justice officials. By turning to the list to which I have already alluded, you will see, for example, that in the year 1907 the Department of Justice, on January 5th, asked for one man in a land fraud case; that on January 25th it asked five men to be detailed for timber entry frauds; on January 30th four additional men to assist in land fraud investigations; on February 27 six more men; on March 4 two more men; on April 2 three more men; on April 10 six more men; on May 28 and June 10 one additional man; on August 22 three additional men. These men were not assigned to the Interior Department, but they were used for the Interior Department cases under the Department of Justice. How such officers discharged their duties

in a previous case, of which I happen to have personal knowledge, is shown by the following letter:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

December 28, 1906.

THE CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SIR:

The Department is in receipt of a letter dated the 21st instant from the United States Attorney for the District of Nebraska, reporting the trial and conviction of Bartlett Richards and other defendants on the charge of conspiring to defraud the United States of public lands. This is one of the cases in which several operatives of your office have been employed under Operative Lucien C. Wheeler, and the United States Attorney takes occasion, in making his report, to commend most highly "the very able service of the operative in charge, Mr. Lucien C. Wheeler, and his Secret Service agents."

The Department is also in receipt of a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, dated the 22d instant, expressing his "appreciation of the splendid work done by" the United States Attorney, his Special Assistant, and Mr. Wheeler; and transmitting a copy of a telegram which he sent to Mr. Wheeler on the 21st instant, as follows:

"I congratulate you most heartily on the splendid work you have done in connection with the verdict, which must give renewed confidence to all those who believe that the law must be obeyed."

I desire to add to what has been quoted above the appreciation of the Department here of the work done by Mr. Wheeler, who has shown himself to be a conscientious and highly efficient instrumentality in bringing about much desired results in Nebraska. Very respectfully,

ALFORD W. COOLEY,
Acting Attorney-General.

The limitation of the use of the Secret Service was not in the least degree technical; it was real and actual. If such a condition as arose in the Interior Department some four years ago again arises in that Department, with this limitation we should be prevented from employing the Secret Service, and the result would be harmful to the Government and of benefit only to the criminals; unless, of course, we are able to build up a precisely similar Secret Service in the Department of Justice—in which case the action of the Congress would have been effective only as showing its disapproval of the admirable work done by Chief Wilkie and his division. Unless the new Secret Service in the Department of Justice does its work in precisely similar fashion to Chief Wilkie's Secret Service, it will not do good and effective work, and I call your attention to the fact that the result of the action of Congress has hitherto been, by the creation of two Secret Services, markedly to increase the total cost of this class of work.

The facts in reference to the detection and suppression of the land frauds and the punishment of

criminals engaged in them, have been made public again and again; but in view of the report of your Committee, it is as well to refer to them once more. Secretary Hitchcock became convinced that there were widespread frauds in his Department, and that his own force was unable to deal with them. Through the Department of Justice he had a number of Secret Service operatives assigned to work on the Interior Department cases, together with one Secret Service operative who was assigned direct to the Interior Department. Mr. Hemenway speaks as if the Attorney-General and the Secretary of the Interior had not known of such assignments; as a matter of fact every such assignment was made on the written request of the head of the Department. The first result of the work in question was to find that various departmental officials had failed in their duty; and some of them were accordingly dismissed.

The results of the assignment of the Secret Service men—taken of course in connection with the activity of the representatives of the Department of Justice itself, and of the activity of the reorganized force of special agents of the Interior Department—are found in the conviction of many defendants, some of them being among the wealthiest and most influential people in their communities; others standing high in the political world, one of them being a Senator and another a Representative in Congress, while a second Representative in Congress was indicted. If the limitation of the use of the Secret Service which your Committee upholds had been in

force at the time of which I speak, the Senator, the Representative, and the various men of wealth and high political influence who were convicted, would all have escaped punishment. I hold that such an outcome would have been in the interest of the criminals only.

Once the emergency had passed, the need for the detail of the Secret Service men no longer existed, and they were accordingly withdrawn. But the history of these land frauds shows conclusively the need of having some Secret Service body subject to emergency detail to departments in which it is not ordinarily employed.

Before the Secret Service was used in the Interior Department as I have above outlined, the prosecutions for land frauds were insignificant in their results. At that time there was no effective desire shown to limit the use of the Secret Service. Then the Secret Service agents were used in connection with these land frauds; and they secured the prosecution and conviction of many men, influential because of their wealth or their social or political prominence. Forthwith there began that active agitation against the use of the Secret Service, which continued until the action of the Congress last spring.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) Theodore Roosevelt.

Hon. Eugene Hale,

Acting Chairman, Committee on Appropriations,
United States Senate.

Enclosures.

P. S.—This letter is in part based on statements furnished by the Attorney-General and the Secretary of the Interior. It has been carefully read over by them and the statements of fact which it contains, so far as they refer to the Department of Justice and the Department of the Interior, have been checked and approved by them.

I enclose various documents as follows:

Statement showing requests of Department of Justice for the assignment of Secret Service operatives during the year 1907 and the first six months of 1908.

Statement of number of men employed on Secret Service or criminal investigation work during the year just passed as compared with the year 1901-2.

WELCOMING ADMIRAL SPERRY AND THE BATTLE FLEET, FEB. 22, 1909

Admiral Sperry, Officers and Men of the Battle Fleet:

Over a year has passed since you steamed out of this harbor, and over the world's rim; and this morning the hearts of all who saw you thrilled with pride as the hulls of the mighty warships lifted above the horizon. You have been in the Northern and the Southern Hemispheres; four times you have crossed the line; you have steamed through all the great oceans; you have touched the coast of every continent. Ever your general course has been westward; and now you come back to the port from

which you set sail. This is the first battle fleet that has ever circumnavigated the globe. Those who perform the feat again can but follow in your footsteps.

The little torpedo flotilla went with you around South America, through the Straits of Magellan, to our own Pacific coast. The armored cruiser squadron met you, and left you again, when you were half way round the world. You have falsified every prediction of the prophets of failure. In all your long cruise not an accident worthy of mention has happened to a single battleship, nor yet to the cruisers or torpedo boats. You left this coast in a high state of battle efficiency, and you return with your efficiency increased; better prepared than when you left not only in personnel but even in matériel. During your world cruise you have taken your regular gunnery practices, and skilled though you were before with the guns, you have grown more skillful still and through practice you have improved in battle tactics, though here there is more room for improvement than in your gunnery. Incidentally, I suppose I need hardly say that one measure of your fitness must be your clear recognition of the need always steadily to strive to render yourselves more fit; if you ever grow to think that you are fit enough, you can make up your minds that from that moment you will begin to go backward.

As a war machine, the fleet comes back in better shape than it went out. In addition, you, the officers and men of this formidable fighting force,

have shown yourselves the best of all possible ambassadors and heralds of peace. Wherever you have landed you have borne yourselves so as to make us at home proud of being your countrymen. You have shown that the best type of fighting man of the sea knows how to appear to the utmost possible advantage when his business is to behave himself on shore, and to make a good impression in a foreign land. We are proud of all the ships and all the men in this whole fleet, and we welcome you home to the country whose good repute among nations has been raised by what you have done.

TRANSMITTING THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY THE NORTH AMERICAN CONSERVATION CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 23, 1909

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith the Declaration of Principles adopted February 23, 1909, by the North American Conservation Conference. This Conference, held in the city of Washington between representatives of the nations which occupy the continent of North America, will unquestionably, as the Declaration recites, "result in mutual benefits, and tend to draw still closer the bonds of existing good-will, confidence, and respect." "Natural resources," the Declaration proceeds, "are not confined by the boundary lines that separate nations. We agree that no nation acting alone can adequately conserve them, and we recommend the adoption of concur-

rent measures for conserving the material foundations of the welfare of all the nations concerned, and for ascertaining their location and extent." It is with sincere gratification that I acknowledge the prompt and courteous response of the Governments to which the invitations for the Conference, whose conclusions I transmit, were addressed, and the broad, statesmanlike, and productive attitude and action of the Conference itself. It has not only performed with marked efficiency and entire unanimity the important duties which devolved upon it, but it has suggested a still wider field of useful action. The Declaration "suggests to the President of the United States of America that all nations should be invited to join together in conference on the subject of world resources, and their inventory, conservation and wise utilization." I have deemed it my duty to welcome and act upon the far-seeing suggestion of the Conference, and have accordingly addressed such an invitation to the nations of the world, in the confident belief that such a meeting will foster the interests of every nation, will injure those of none, and will confirm and strengthen in us all the belief that the good of each is likewise the common good of all.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
February 26, 1909.

SUBMITTING THE REPORT OF A COMMISSION APPOINTED TO CONSIDER THE NEEDS OF THE NAVY, FEBRUARY 25, 1909

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

On January 27, 1909, I addressed the following letter to Hon. William H. Moody, Hon. Alston G. Dayton, Hon. Paul Morton, Rear-Admiral S. B. Luce, U. S. N., retired, Rear-Admiral A. T. Mahan, U. S. N., retired, Rear-Admiral Robley D. Evans, U. S. N., retired, Rear-Admiral William M. Folger, U. S. N., retired, Rear-Admiral William S. Cowles, U. S. N., retired:

My Dear Sir:

I have appointed you as a member of a commission to consider certain needs of the navy. The organization of the Department is now not such as to bring the best results, and there is a failure to coordinate the work of the Bureaus and to make the Department serve the one end for which it was created, that is, the development and handling of a first-class fighting fleet. With this proposition in view I will ask you to consider:

1. All defects in the law under which the Navy Department is now organized, including especially the defects by which the authority of Chiefs of Bureaus is made in certain respects practically equal to that of the Secretary or the President.

2. The division of responsibility and consequent lack of coordination in the preparations for war and conduct of war.

3. The functions of certain bureaus, so as to see whether it is not possible to consolidate them.

4. The necessity of providing the Secretary of the Navy with military advisers, who are responsible to him for coordinating the work of the bureaus and for preparation for war.

5. The necessity for economical allotment and disbursement of appropriations and for a system which will secure strict accountability.

6. Finally, I want your views as to how best to recognize and emphasize the strictly military character of the navy, so that preparations for war shall be controlled under the Secretary by the military branch of the navy, which bears the responsibility for the successful conduct of war operations.

I wish to have the above subjects considered under two general heads:

First, as to the fundamental principles of an organization that will insure an efficient preparation for war in time of peace, a separate report under this head to be submitted at the earliest practicable date.

Second, specific recommendations as to the changes in the present organization that will accomplish this result, the report under this head to be submitted later.

In addition to the above reports I desire your recommendation as to the number, location and general facilities of the navy yards which are required by strategic considerations in time of war and for

maintaining the fleet in constant readiness for war in time of peace.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

This Commission has just submitted to me the two following preliminary reports, the first dealing with the general principles governing naval organizations, and the second suggesting the creation of a joint commission for the purposes therein set forth:

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
February 20, 1909.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES GOVERNING NAVAL ORGANIZATION

1. The office of the Secretary of the Navy being Executive in character, nothing should be admitted into an organization of the Department which would qualify his authority or diminish his ultimate responsibility. He has been in the past, and in the future should be a civilian. He is the representative of the President, the Constitutional Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, under whose direction his authority is exercised.

2. The duties in charge of the Secretary divide under two principal heads, closely related but generally distinct: civil and military.

The civil duties embrace the provision or preparation of all the material of war. This is the function of the present bureaus.

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The military duties concern the use of that material, whether in war or in such exercises as conduce to fitness for operations of war. For the direction of these military duties, no subordinate provision corresponding to the bureaus on the civil side exists in the present organization established by statute.

3. The discharge of both these classes of duty involves a multitude of activities, quite beyond the immediate personal knowledge and supervision of a single man. This necessitates a subdivision of the duties by which means the supervision of the Secretary is exerted through the medium of responsible subordinates. In this subdivision the principle of undivided responsibility, within the appointed field of subordinate supervision, should obtain, as it does in the superior office of the Secretary.

The bureau system, as now established by law for the civil activities of the Department, insures for each bureau this undivided responsibility, qualified only by the authority of the Secretary, which, if exerted, does not divide the responsibility, but transfers it to the Secretary himself. Independent authority, with undivided responsibility, though in principle proper, suffers historically from intrinsic inability to cooperate, where a number of such independent units are present. The marshals of the first Napoleon—especially in Spain—in the absence of the Emperor, offer a familiar illustration. The bureau system, as at present constituted by law, contains no remedy for this inherent defect.

4. The coordinating power is in the Secretary's authority; but, owing to the shortness of tenure in office, and to the inevitable unfamiliarity with naval conditions with which an incumbent begins, authority, though adequate in principle, is not so in effect. This inadequacy consists in lack of personal familiarity with the subjects before him, not merely severally, but in their collective relations; in short, lack of specific knowledge and experience. The organization should provide him with such knowledge and experience, digested formally, so as to facilitate his personal acquirement. In short, an advisory body, equipped not with advice merely, but with reasons. In order to avoid the interruption of continuity attending each new administration, entailing the recurrent temporary unfamiliarity of each new Secretary, it is expedient that this advisory body be composed of several persons; but while this provision would insure the continuity which inheres in a corporate body (in this case continuity of knowledge and of progress), the principle of undivided responsibility would dictate that one only of them should be responsible for the advice given to the common superior—the Secretary.

5. As regards the composition of the advisory body, the principles to be regarded are two: A, the end dictates the means. B, responsibility must be individual; in advice as well as in executive action.

A. The end is efficiency for war. The agents in war are the military naval officers. Their profession qualifies them best to pronounce upon the

character of the preparations for war of every kind, including not only schemes of campaign and tactical systems, but the classes, sizes, qualities, and armaments of ships of war.

What the Secretary needs, specifically and above all, is a clear understanding and firm grasp of leading military considerations. Possessed of these, he may without great difficulty weigh the recommendations of his technical assistants, decide for himself, and depend upon them for *technical* execution of that which he approves.

However constituted in detail, the advisory body should be taken entirely from the class to which belongs the conduct of war, and upon whom will fall, in war, the responsibility for the use of the instruments and for the results of the measures which they recommend.

B. As regards individual responsibility for advice, it is suggested that the Secretary of the Navy nominate to the President the officer whom he deems best fitted to command the great fleet in case of war arising; and that this officer, irrespective of his seniority, should be head of the advisory body. He alone should be the *responsible* adviser of the Secretary.

The provision of a responsible adviser does not compel the Secretary to accept his advice, nor prevent his consulting whomsoever else he will. The provision suggested does not limit the authority of the Secretary; but it does provide him with the weightiest and most instructed counsel, and it lays

upon the prospective commander-in-chief the solemn charge that in all he recommends he is sowing for a future which he himself may have to reap.

An essential principle in the constitution of such an advisory body is that the majority of the members should be on the active list and should go afloat at not infrequent intervals; and, specifically, the head of the body, the prospective commander-in-chief, should during the summer months take command of the concentrated battleship force, for maneuvers, target firing, and practice of every kind. This will insure also his sustained familiarity with administrative routine of the fleet and other practical matters.

6. In the two principal classes into which the duties of the Secretary of the Navy divide, civil and military, as enunciated in section 2, above, the work "civil" corresponds largely to the activities known as technical; and there is no reason apparent why the same principle of undivided immediate responsibility should not be realized in the Navy Department in two chief subordinates, responsible, the one for military supervision, the other for technical supervision, and for all information and advice given to the Secretary under these two heads. It is of course apparent that a perfectly suitable Secretary may come to his office with as little previous knowledge of the kind called technical as he has of military; nay, he may be perfectly efficient, and yet not acquire in his four years of office either the technical or military knowledge presumable in men

whose lives have been given to the two professions. Under the most favorable conditions, every superior must take decisions largely on advice; which means not accepting another's opinion blindly, but accepting statements of facts and weighing reasons.

The principle of the Secretary's ultimate individual responsibility dictates that he be at liberty to consult as many advisers as he thinks necessary; but the principle of the individual responsibility of two chief advisers, for the advice given, tends to insure the most exhaustive consideration on the part of men selected for their special competency. Careful consideration with special competency gives the best guarantee for advice; and a Secretary overruling it would do so under the weightiest sense of personal responsibility.

As a matter of detail, but yet so broad in bearing as to amount to a principle, it may be noted that while the adjective "military" is somewhat narrow in application, "technical" is extensive in scope. Naval construction, ordnance, and steam engineering are all technical professions. The selection of a chief technical assistant to the Secretary might therefore be made from the recognized technical experts of the navy, under any of the three heads named, or a competent civilian engineer and naval architect may be appointed as Second Assistant Secretary of the Navy, under whom the four technical bureaus may be coordinated.

7. In conclusion, it should be distinctly laid down as a cardinal principle that no scheme of naval

organization can possibly be effective which does not recognize that the requirement of war is the true standard of efficiency in an administrative military system; that success in war and victory in battle can be assured only by that constant preparedness and that superior fighting efficiency which logically result from placing the control and responsibility in time of peace upon the same individuals and the same agencies that must control in time of war. There should be no shock or change of method in expanding from a state of peace to a state of war. This is not militarism; it is a simple business principle based upon the fact that success in war is the only return the people and the nation can get from the investment of many millions in the building and maintenance of a great navy.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
February 18, 1909.

The President:

The Commission on Naval Organization appointed by Executive communication dated January 27, 1909, begs leave to submit the following preliminary report on the "Needs of the Navy," etc.:

The last clause of your letter of instructions reads as follows:

"In addition to the above reports I desire your recommendation as to the number, location, and general facilities of the navy yards which are required by strategic consideration in time of war,

and for maintaining the fleet in constant readiness for war in time of peace."

The two subjects when taken together—the dispensing with unnecessary navy yards, and the provision for navy yards which are required "by strategic considerations in time of war, and for maintaining the fleet in constant readiness for war in time of peace," are questions of such gravity and demand so much careful study that it would be impracticable for the Commission to bring in even a preliminary report of any value in the limited time available.

The determination of the location of navy yards and naval bases being a question involving military and strategic considerations of the highest national importance, we venture to recommend that at the earliest practicable date this subject be referred to a joint commission of senior naval officers and officers of the United States Army, which will be instructed to report formally to the President.

In accordance with the last report of the Commission on Naval Organization, I have appointed a joint commission of army and navy officers to report on the subjects named therein, the commission consisting of the following men:

Rear-Admiral A. T. Mahan, U. S. N., retired,
Chairman.
Rear-Admiral Charles S. Sperry, U. S. N.
Rear-Admiral Richard Wainwright, U. S. N.
Captain C. McR. Winslow, U. S. N.
Major-General J. Franklin Bell, U. S. A.,
Chief of Staff.

Brigadier-General W. W. Wetherspoon, U. S. A.,
General Staff, President Army War College.
Brigadier-General W. L. Marshall, U. S. A.,
Chief of Engineers.

The appointment of this Commission is peculiarly appropriate in view of action already taken by the Joint Board of the Army and Navy, a board the existence of which has been of marked benefit to the two services. This board, after discussing questions relating to the mutual relations of the army and navy in defending harbors which were liable to be used by the navy for the establishment of navy yards and naval stations, reached the conclusion that thereafter whenever the army was engaged in the preparation of plans for the defense of a harbor which would be used by the navy, the project for defending the harbor should be submitted to the representatives of the navy on the Joint Board before final adoption, with the view to having the project accord with the necessities of the navy. On the other hand, whenever the navy was planning to locate a navy yard or naval station, which it would be the duty of the army in case of war to assist in defending either by seacoast fortifications or land operations of the army, that the matter of the location of the navy yard or naval station should be submitted to the representatives of the army on the Joint Board before final adoption, with the view to having the army opinion as to the necessities in relation to the defenses to be established.

I ask your very earnest consideration of the "gen-

eral principles" laid down by the Commission in the report herewith embodied. In their essence these principles amount to a declaration that the navy should be treated not with a view to any special or local interest, but from the standpoint of the interest of the whole country, and that all other considerations should be subordinated to keeping it in the highest condition of military efficiency; for it must be prepared for war, or else it is useless, and it cannot be prepared for war unless always in the highest state of military efficiency. The whole object of the organization of the Navy Department is to create machinery which will in time of peace prepare for war; and such, no less, is the whole object of the War Department. All the administration machinery of the two departments should be considered from this standpoint. The two secretaries should be supreme; but they should have the best and most responsible military advice. It would be impossible to over-estimate the good that has come from the creation of such bodies as the General Staff of the Army, the General Board of the Navy, the Joint Board, the War Colleges of the two services, and the like. Without these bodies it would have been utterly impossible to bring either service to anywhere near its present standard of efficiency. Great good has come from the development of the system of maneuvers, alike in the navy and the army; the efficiency shown by the expeditionary force of the army which went to Cuba, the efficiency shown by the great battle fleet which has just re-

turned from its extraordinary voyage around the world, are both matters upon which this Nation should heartily congratulate itself. Very much was done in securing a good organization of the army under the plan formulated by Secretary Root. The administrative organization of the navy needs an entire remodeling along the plan indicated in the document headed "General Principles" embodied in this report; for this plan contains the principles of naval administration which have been observed by every great power which has ever made, or is now making, a success of naval administration.

If the Commission is able to submit to me its final plan before the adjournment of Congress, I shall at once lay it before you. This plan will supplement and define the general principles laid down in the preliminary plan.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
February 25, 1909.

REMARKS ON THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON NAVAL REORGANIZATION, FEBRUARY 27, 1909

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I send you herewith the final report of the Commission on Naval Reorganization, which outlines a new departmental system. Accompanying is the letter from Mr. Justice Moody sent to me in transmitting the report. I have expressed to Justice Moody and his associates my profound sense of

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obligation for the admirable work they have done. I invite your attention to the sound and conservative character of this report. It is in full accord with American policy, for it recognizes the complete supremacy of the civil power as regards the military no less than the civil or manufacturing side of naval administration. Nothing drastic is recommended as to the bureaus or other agencies by means of which the purely business affairs of the Navy Department are now administered. These are simply coördinated and brought under the general control of the Secretary in such manner as to secure unity of effort and action. The recommendation for the creation of the two councils, the Secretary's General Council and his Military Council, are based upon the fundamental and all-essential proposition that a navy exists and ought only to exist for war and for war alone; for the efficacy of the navy in securing and guaranteeing peace depends absolutely upon its evident efficiency for war. Preparation for war can only be thorough and complete if the Secretary has the same expert military assistance and the same advisers in time of peace as in time of war. The proposed plan has this object in view. It should be remembered that perfection of organization and training and perfect preparedness cost no more than slipshod inefficiency in so spending money as to disregard, or even prevent, or impede, proper training and preparedness. The plan outlined does not imply any greater expenditure of money than at present. It provides merely that the money should

be spent wisely instead of as at present spending it so that a certain proportion is wasted in friction or in useless work. Training and preparation are essential elements of success in war. It is necessary to have the best ships and to have a sufficient number of them; but the number and character of ships will not necessarily bring victory. Efficiency in organization and personnel must be the main dependence in securing victory where there is even an approximate equality in material.

To supplement and finish the work of this Commission another commission must eventually be designated, to take up the proposed plan and complete it as to details; but no plan can be satisfactory if there is deviation from the essential military principles specified in this report. These principles are those which all sound naval experts have come to recognize as fundamental. I call your attention to the fact that the Commission whose conclusions I lay before you was composed of five Rear-Admirals, two ex-Secretaries of the Navy, and an ex-Member of the House of Representatives who throughout his term of service in the House was one of the most able and resolute champions that the navy has ever had in Congress.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
February 27, 1909.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
February 26, 1909.

The President:

I have the honor to transmit herewith, by direction of the Commission lately assembled by you, three reports on the subject of naval organization; first, the report recommending the constitution of a military board composed exclusively of officers of the army and navy for the purpose of considering the number, location and general facilities of the navy yards which are required by military considerations; second, the report on the general principles governing naval administration organization; and, third, a report showing an embodiment of those principles illustrated by an outline plan of reorganization.

These reports bring to an end the work which the Commission has deemed it possible to undertake, and I am directed to request that the military members be relieved from further duty and the civilian members excused.

Very respectfully,

WILLIAM H. MOODY.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
February 26, 1909.

The President:

The Commission on Naval Reorganization, convened in obedience to the Executive communication, dated January 27, 1909, has the honor to submit the

following broad embodiment of the "Principles" of naval reorganization enumerated in a previous communication dated February 20, 1909.

It is conceded that the present organization of the Navy Department, with the limitations which have been discussed in the report of this Commission on the "Principles" of naval reorganization, has performed the business of the Navy Department adequately. Its shortcomings have not been due to any deficiency in skill or want of business capacity in administration, but rather because the organization has lacked the principle of responsible military advice to the Secretary.

The object and ultimate end of the Navy Department are to build, arm, equip and man the fleet in order to prepare it for war. It is conceivable that in a highly developed industrial community like our own, the business of the Navy Department might, under its Secretary, be restricted to its military duties only, the supplies of every nature, including the vessels themselves and their entire war outfit, being obtained by purchase, as has been illustrated in certain foreign countries. The predominant character and importance of efficient military counsel will thus be appreciated.

We, therefore, beg to submit an outlined plan of reorganization in illustration of the "Principles" of the report of the Commission, dated February 20, 1909, in which an endeavor has been made to supply the deficiencies to which attention has been directed. We, however, desire to emphasize the expression

that this is merely an illustration of the "Principles," and not a digested plan.

The bureau system in its entirety has been retained, but with additional personnel. Its powers but not its duties have been curtailed; and it is believed that these last have been usefully coördinated.

The necessity for the increase in the superior personnel of the Navy Department will be obvious. It is illustrated in the growth of every industrial development. The additional cost will be nothing when compared to the savings in administration.

THE SECRETARY
THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
(First Division)

A civilian; a "man of affairs."

In charge of the business of the Bureau of Yards and Docks, the Bureau of Supplies, and the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery.

The General Accounting.

The Office of the Solicitor.

The employment of civilians.

The Library; and kindred subjects.

NAVAL OPERATIONS
(Second Division)

The Chief of the Division of Naval Operations.
(Principal Military Adviser to the Secretary.)

To be a Flag Officer.

To be without administrative functions, but to be

the ex-officio head of the General Board and the Board on Construction.

To supervise War Plans, Naval Policy; the War College; the Office of Naval Intelligence, and kindred subjects.

PERSONNEL
(Third Division)

The Chief of the Division of Personnel.

To be a Flag Officer.

To be charged ex-officio with the business of the Bureau of Navigation.

All Educational Institutions except the Naval War College.

The Marine Corps.

Discipline—The Office of the Judge Advocate General.

The Naval Observatory, and kindred subjects.

INSPECTION
(Fourth Division)

The Chief of the Division of Inspection.

To be a Flag Officer.

To be charged with the duties pertaining to the trials of ships.

To the inspection of Fleets, Squadrons, and Ships, —of Naval Yards and Stations,—of sites for Naval Stations; and kindred subjects.

MATÉRIEL
(Fifth Division)
(The Technical Division)

The Chief of the Technical Division.

To be a Flag Officer, a Naval Constructor or a civilian with a technical training.

To be in supervisory charge of the business of the four technical bureaus of—

Construction, Ordnance, Engineering, and Equipment.

THE COUNCILS

The Chiefs of the five grand divisions to form the Secretary's General Council.

The Chiefs of the Second, Third, and Fourth Divisions (Operations, Personnel, and Inspection) to form the Secretary's Military Council, but of these the Chief of Naval Operations is the sole responsible adviser. No Chief of a Bureau, while acting as such, to act as Chief of a Division.

The military members of the General Council to be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a period of three years, and, with the exception of the Chief of the Division of Naval Operations, to be ineligible for reappointment except after an intervening period of three years.

We respectfully suggest attention to the following enumeration of the duties of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts:

(1) Provisions.
(2) Clothing.
(3) Small stores.
(4) Purchase of its own supplies.
(5) Purchases of all other bureaus.

(6) Its own accounts.

(7) Accounts of all bureaus.

(8) Purchase of general supplies for the Navy.

(9) Storage and distribution of these supplies at Navy Yards.

(10) Pay of Navy.

The Bureau of Supplies and Accounts should be divided. It is bad business practice to have the purchase and care of supplies under the management of those charged with the duty of keeping the accounts or paying the bills.

There should be a Purchasing and Supply Department, as well as an Accounting Department. Inventories of supplies on hand should be made to, and checked by, the Accounting Department, but it is a poor system where the same bureau is charged with doing both.

We recognize, in order to make these recommendations effective, it will be necessary that earnest consideration and careful study be given existing laws, and we suggest that the law (Section 420, Revised Statutes) which give a bureau chief equal authority with the Secretary, in his absence, be repealed.

We have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

William H. Moody,
Allston G. Dayton,
Paul Morton,
S. B. Luce,
Rear-Admiral, U. S. N., Retired,

A. T. Mahan,
Rear-Admiral, U. S. N., Retired,
Wm. M. Folger,
Rear-Admiral, U. S. N., Retired,
Wm. S. Cowles,
Rear-Admiral, U. S. N., Retired,
Wm. F. Fullam,
Commander, U. S. N., Secretary.

TO THE "TENNIS CABINET" AT LUNCHEON ON MONDAY, MARCH 1, 1909

Gentlemen:

You are here nominally as members, or to meet the members, of the "Tennis Cabinet"—that is, as men with whom at tennis or hunting, or riding, or walking, or boxing, I have played, with whom I have been on the roundup, or in the mountains, or in the ranch country. But really, as you know, you are not here for that reason at all; you are here because you are the men, because you represent the men with whom I have worked while I have been President. No administration has ever had finer or more loyal service than you have given, and I do not believe this country has ever had an abler or more devoted set of public servants. It is through you and those like you that I have done the major part of what has been accomplished under this administration. Moreover, in a vast number of cases the doing of the work itself has been your only reward. The credit has come to me, to the chief of the administration. For exactly as men like to symbolize a battle by the name of the commander, so

they like to symbolize an administration by the man at the head, forgetting that the immense majority of his acts can be done only through others and that a really successful administration, successful from the standpoint of advancing the honor and the interests of the country, must be managed as ours has been, in a spirit of the most loyal association and partnership. There are many others like you whom I would have given much to bring here to-day; but there simply wasn't room enough; and so I have brought you here partly for your own sakes, but primarily as representing thousands of other workers; as representing all good, faithful, fearless public servants, who strive their best to do what the public need demands, and who, in the last analysis, stand all on the same level, when judged by that supreme test which takes into chief account the spirit of the service rendered. Whether a man is a Cabinet minister, a bureau chief, a marshal, an Indian agent, a forester, a letter carrier, a member of the life-saving service, a clerk in a Department, or a workman in a navy yard, or whether he holds one of a hundred other positions, makes not the slightest difference if he puts his heart and his soul and his mind into his work, and is content to accept as his chief reward the satisfaction that comes from knowledge that the work has been well done. So, while I greet you for yourselves, I greet you still more as symbolizing others; and in saying farewell to you I shall take as symbolizing all of you one who leaves public life when I leave it; a man who made a

real personal sacrifice when seven years ago he came here to take office at my request; a man who has stood ever since as the type of what a good public servant should be; a man who for the last two years has been one of the most useful Cabinet ministers who ever sat at the Cabinet table—Jim Garfield.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, HODGENVILLE, KY., FEBRUARY 12, 1909

We have met here to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of one of the two greatest Americans; of one of the two or three greatest men of the nineteenth century; of one of the greatest men in the world's history. This rail splitter, this boy who passed his ungainly youth in the dire poverty of the poorest of the frontier folk, whose rise was by weary and painful labor, lived to lead his people through the burning flames of a struggle from which the Nation emerged, purified as by fire, born anew to a loftier life. After long years of iron effort, and of failure that came more often than victory, he at last rose to the leadership of the Republic, at the moment when that leadership had become the stupendous world-task of the time. He grew to know greatness, but never ease. Success came to him, but never happiness, save that which springs from doing well a painful and a vital task. Power was his, but not pleasure. The

furrows deepened on his brow, but his eyes were undimmed by either hate or fear. His gaunt shoulders were bowed, but his steel thews never faltered as he bore for a burden the destinies of his people. His great and tender heart shrank from giving pain; and the task allotted him was to pour out like water the life-blood of the young men, and to feel in his every fiber the sorrow of the women. Disaster saddened but never dismayed him. As the red years of war went by they found him ever doing his duty in the present, ever facing the future with fearless front, high of heart, and dauntless of soul. Unbroken by hatred, unshaken by scorn, he worked and suffered for the people. Triumph was his at the last; and barely had he tasted it before murder found him, and the kindly, patient, fearless eyes were closed forever.

As a people we are indeed beyond measure fortunate in the characters of the two greatest of our public men, Washington and Lincoln. Widely though they differed in externals, the Virginia landed gentleman and the Kentucky backwoodsman, they were alike in essentials, they were alike in the great qualities which made each able to render service to his Nation and to all mankind such as no other man of his generation could or did render. Each had lofty ideals, but each in striving to attain these lofty ideals was guided by the soundest common sense. Each possessed inflexible courage in adversity, and a soul wholly unspoiled by prosperity. Each possessed all the gentler virtues commonly ex-

hibited by good men who lack rugged strength of character. Each possessed also all the strong qualities commonly exhibited by those towering masters of mankind who have too often shown themselves devoid of so much as the understanding of the words by which we signify the qualities of duty, of mercy, of devotion to the right, of lofty disinterestedness in battling for the good of others. There have been other men as great and other men as good; but in all the history of mankind there are no other two great men as good as these, no other two good men as great. Widely though the problems of to-day differ from the problems set for solution to Washington when he founded this nation, to Lincoln when he saved it and freed the slave, yet the qualities they showed in meeting these problems are exactly the same as those we should show in doing our work to-day.

Lincoln saw into the future with the prophetic imagination usually vouchsafed only to the poet and the seer. He had in him all the lift toward greatness of the visionary, without any of the visionary's fanaticism or egotism, without any of the visionary's narrow jealousy of the practical man and inability to strive in practical fashion for the realization of an ideal. He had the practical man's hard common sense and willingness to adapt means to ends; but there was in him none of that morbid growth of mind and soul which blinds so many practical men to the higher things of life. No more practical man ever lived than this homely backwoods idealist; but

he had nothing in common with those practical men whose consciences are warped until they fail to distinguish between good and evil, fail to understand that strength, ability, shrewdness, whether in the world of business or of politics, only serve to make their possessor a more noxious, a more evil member of the community, if they are not guided and controlled by a fine and high moral sense.

We of this day must try to solve many social and industrial problems, requiring to an especial degree the combination of indomitable resolution with cool-headed sanity. We can profit by the way in which Lincoln used both these traits as he strove for reform. We can learn much of value from the very attacks which following that course brought upon his head, attacks alike by the extremists of revolution and by the extremists of reaction. He never wavered in devotion to his principles, in his love for the Union, and in his abhorrence of slavery. Timid and lukewarm people were always denouncing him because he was too extreme; but as a matter of fact he never went to extremes, he worked step by step; and because of this the extremists hated and denounced him with a fervor which now seems to us fantastic in its deification of the unreal and the impossible. At the very time when one side was holding him up as the apostle of social revolution because he was against slavery, the leading abolitionist denounced him as the "slave hound of Illinois." When he was the second time candidate for President, the majority of his opponents attacked him

because of what they termed his extreme radicalism, while a minority threatened to bolt his nomination because he was not radical enough. He had continually to check those who wished to go forward too fast, at the very time that he overrode the opposition of those who wished not to go forward at all. The goal was never dim before his vision; but he picked his way cautiously, without either halt or hurry, as he strode toward it, through such a morass of difficulty that no man of less courage would have attempted it, while it would surely have overwhelmed any man of judgment less serene.

Yet perhaps the most wonderful thing of all, and, from the standpoint of the America of to-day and of the future, the most vitally important, was the extraordinary way in which Lincoln could fight valiantly against what he deemed wrong and yet preserve undiminished his love and respect for the brother from whom he differed. In the hour of a triumph that would have turned any weaker man's head, in the heat of a struggle which spurred many a good man to dreadful vindictiveness, he said truthfully that so long as he had been in his office he had never willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom, and besought his supporters to study the incidents of the trial through which they were passing as philosophy from which to learn wisdom and not as wrongs to be avenged; ending with the solemn exhortation that, as the strife was over, all should reunite in a common effort to save their common country.

He lived in days that were great and terrible, when brother fought against brother for what each sincerely deemed to be the right. In a contest so grim the strong men who alone can carry it through are rarely able to do justice to the deep convictions of those with whom they grapple in mortal strife. At such times men see through a glass darkly; to only the rarest and loftiest spirits is vouchsafed that clear vision which gradually comes to all, even to the lesser, as the struggle fades into distance, and wounds are forgotten, and peace creeps back to the hearts that were hurt. But to Lincoln was given this supreme vision. He did not hate the man from whom he differed. Weakness was as foreign as wickedness to his strong, gentle nature; but his courage was of a quality so high that it needed no bolstering of dark passion. He saw clearly that the same high qualities, the same courage, and willingness for self-sacrifice, and devotion to the right as it was given them to see the right, belonged both to the men of the North and to the men of the South. As the years roll by, and as all of us, wherever we dwell, grow to feel an equal pride in the valor and self-devotion, alike of the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray, so this whole nation will grow to feel a peculiar sense of pride in the man whose blood was shed for the union of his people and for the freedom of a race; the lover of his country and of all mankind; the mightiest of the mighty men who mastered the mighty days; Abraham Lincoln.

CITIZENSHIP IN A REPUBLIC

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE SORBONNE, PARIS, APRIL 23, 1910

Strange and impressive associations rise in the mind of a man from the New World who speaks before this august body in the ancient institution of learning. Before his eyes pass the shadows of mighty kings and warlike nobles, of great masters of law and theology; through the shining dust of the dead centuries he sees crowded figures that tell of the power and learning and splendor of times gone by; and he sees also the innumerable host of humble students to whom clerkship meant emancipation, to whom it was well-nigh the only outlet from the dark thraldom of the Middle Ages.

This was the most famous university of mediæval Europe at a time when no one dreamed that there was a New World to discover. Its services to the cause of human knowledge already stretched far back into the remote past at the time when my forefathers, three centuries ago, were among the sparse bands of traders, plowmen, woodchoppers, and fisherfolk who, in hard struggle with the iron unfriendliness of the Indian-haunted land, were laying the foundations of what has now become the giant republic of the West. To conquer a continent, to tame the shaggy roughness of wild nature, means grim warfare; and the generations engaged in it cannot keep, still less add to, the stores of garnered

wisdom which once were theirs, and which are still in the hands of their brethren who dwell in the old land. To conquer the wilderness means to wrest victory from the same hostile forces with which mankind struggled in the immemorial infancy of our race. The primeval conditions must be met by primeval qualities which are incompatible with the retention of much that has been painfully acquired by humanity as through the ages it has striven upward towards civilization. In conditions so primitive there can be but a primitive culture. At first only the rudest schools can be established, for no others would meet the needs of the hard-driven, sinewy folk who thrust forward the frontier in the teeth of savage man and savage nature; and many years elapse before any of these schools can develop into seats of higher learning and broader culture.

The pioneer days pass; the stump-dotted clearings expand into vast stretches of fertile farm land; the stockaded clusters of log cabins change into towns; the hunters of game, the fellers of trees, the rude frontier traders and tillers of the soil, the men who wander all their lives long through the wilderness as the heralds and harbingers of an oncoming civilization, themselves vanish before the civilization for which they have prepared the way. The children of their successors and supplanters, and then their children and children's children, change and develop with extraordinary rapidity. The conditions accentuate vices and virtues, energy and ruthlessness, all the good qualities and all the defects of an in-

tense individualism, self-reliant, self-centered, far more conscious of its rights than of its duties, and blind to its own shortcomings. To the hard materialism of the frontier days succeeds the hard materialism of an industrialism even more intense and absorbing than that of the older nations; although these themselves have likewise already entered on the age of a complex and predominantly industrial civilization.

As the country grows, its people, who have won success in so many lines, turn back to try to recover the possessions of the mind and the spirit, which perforce their fathers threw aside in order better to wage the first rough battles for the continent their children inherit. The leaders of thought and of action grope their way forward to a new life, realizing, sometimes dimly, sometimes clear-sightedly, that the life of material gain, whether for a nation or an individual, is of value only as a foundation, only as there is added to it the uplift that comes from devotion to loftier ideals. The new life thus sought can in part be developed afresh from what is round about in the New World; but it can be developed in full only by freely drawing upon the treasure-houses of the Old World, upon the treasures stored in the ancient abodes of wisdom and learning, such as this where I speak to-day. It is a mistake for any nation merely to copy another; but it is an even greater mistake, it is a proof of weakness in any nation, not to be anxious to learn from another, and willing and able to adapt that

learning to the new national conditions and make it fruitful and productive therein. It is for us of the New World to sit at the feet of the Gamaliel of the Old; then, if we have the right stuff in us, we can show that Paul in his turn can become a teacher as well as a scholar.

To-day I shall speak to you on the subject of individual citizenship, the one subject of vital importance to you, my hearers, and to me and my countrymen, because you and we are citizens of great democratic republics. A democratic republic such as each of ours—an effort to realize in its full sense government by, of, and for the people—represents the most gigantic of all possible social experiments, the one fraught with greatest possibilities alike for good and for evil. The success of republics like yours and like ours means the glory, and our failure the despair, of mankind; and for you and for us the question of the quality of the individual citizen is supreme. Under other forms of government, under the rule of one man or of a very few men, the quality of the rulers is all-important. If, under such governments, the quality of the rulers is high enough, then the nation may for generations lead a brilliant career, and add substantially to the sum of world achievement, no matter how low the quality of the average citizen; because the average citizen is an almost negligible quantity in working out the final results of that type of national greatness.

But with you and with us the case is different.

With you here, and with us in my own home, in the long run, success or failure will be conditioned upon the way in which the average man, the average woman, does his or her duty, first in the ordinary, every-day affairs of life, and next in those great occasional crises which call for the heroic virtues. The average citizen must be a good citizen if our republics are to succeed. The stream will not permanently rise higher than the main source; and the main source of national power and national greatness is found in the average citizenship of the nation. Therefore it behooves us to do our best to see that the standard of the average citizen is kept high; and the average cannot be kept high unless the standard of the leaders is very much higher.

It is well if a large proportion of the leaders in any republic, in any democracy, are, as a matter of course, drawn from the classes represented in this audience to-day; but only provided that those classes possess the gifts of sympathy with plain people and of devotion to great ideals. You and those like you have received special advantages; you have all of you had the opportunity for mental training; many of you have had leisure; most of you have had a chance for the enjoyment of life far greater than comes to the majority of your fellows. To you and your kind much has been given, and from you much should be expected. Yet there are certain failings against which it is especially incumbent that both men of trained and cultivated

intellect, and men of inherited wealth and position, should especially guard themselves, because to these failings they are especially liable; and if yielded to, their—your—chances of useful service are at an end.

Let the man of learning, the man of lettered leisure, beware of that queer and cheap temptation to pose to himself and to others as the cynic, as the man who has outgrown emotions and beliefs, the man to whom good and evil are as one. The poorest way to face life is to face it with a sneer. There are many men who feel a kind of twisted pride in cynicism; there are many who confine themselves to criticism of the way others do what they themselves dare not even attempt. There is no more unhealthy being, no man less worthy of respect, than he who either really holds, or feigns to hold, an attitude of sneering disbelief towards all that is great and lofty, whether in achievement or in that noble effort which, even if it fail, comes second to achievement. A cynical habit of thought and speech, a readiness to criticise work which the critic himself never tries to perform, an intellectual aloofness, which will not accept contact with life's realities—all these are marks, not, as the possessor would fain think, of superiority, but of weakness. They mark the men unfit to bear their part manfully in the stern strife of living, who seek, in the affectation of contempt for the achievements of others, to hide from others and from themselves their own weakness. The rôle is easy; there is none

easier, save only the rôle of the man who sneers alike at both criticism and performance.

It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs, and comes short again and again, because there is no effort without error and shortcomings; but who does actually strive to do the deeds; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions; who spends himself in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who knew neither victory nor defeat. Shame on the man of cultivated taste who permits refinement to develop into a fastidiousness that unfits him for doing the rough work of a work-aday world. Among the free peoples who govern themselves there is but a small field of usefulness open for the men of cloistered life who shrink from contact with their fellows. Still less room is there for those who deride or slight what is done by those who actually bear the brunt of the day; nor yet for those others who always profess that they would like to take action, if only the conditions of life were not what they actually are. The man who does nothing cuts the same sordid figure in the pages of history, whether he be cynic, or fop, or voluptu-

ary. There is little use for the being whose tepid soul knows nothing of the great and generous emotion, of the high pride, the stern belief, the lofty enthusiasm, of the men who quell the storm and ride the thunder. Well for these men if they succeed; well also, though not so well, if they fail, given only that they have nobly ventured, and have put forth all their heart and strength. It is war-worn Hotspur, spent with hard fighting, he of the many errors and the valiant end, over whose memory we love to linger, not over the memory of the young lord who "but for the vile guns would have been a soldier."

France has taught many lessons to other nations; surely one of the most important is the lesson her whole history teaches, that a high artistic and literary development is compatible with notable leadership in arms and statecraft. The brilliant gallantry of the French soldier has for many centuries been proverbial; and during these same centuries at every court in Europe the "freemasons of fashion" have treated the French tongue as their common speech; while every artist and man of letters, and every man of science able to appreciate that marvelous instrument of precision, French prose, has turned towards France for aid and inspiration. How long the leadership in arms and letters has lasted is curiously illustrated by the fact that the earliest masterpiece in a modern tongue is the splendid French epic which tells of Roland's doom and the vengeance of Charlemagne when the

lords of the Frankish host were stricken at Roncesvalles.

Let those who have, keep, let those who have not, strive to attain, a high standard of cultivation and scholarship. Yet let us remember that these stand second to certain other things. There is need of a sound body, and even more need of a sound mind. But above mind and above body stands character—the sum of those qualities which we mean when we speak of a man's force and courage, of his good faith and sense of honor. I believe in exercise for the body, always provided that we keep in mind that physical development is a means and not an end. I believe, of course, in giving to all the people a good education. But the education must contain much besides book-learning in order to be really good. We must ever remember that no keenness and subtleness of intellect, no polish, no cleverness, in any way make up for the lack of the great solid qualities. Self-restraint, self-mastery, common sense, the power of accepting individual responsibility and yet of acting in conjunction with others, courage and resolution—these are the qualities which mark a masterful people. Without them no people can control itself, or save itself from being controlled from the outside. I speak to a brilliant assemblage; I speak in a great university which represents the flower of the highest intellectual development; I pay all homage to intellect, and to elaborate and specialized training of the intellect; and yet I know I shall have the assent of all of you

present when I add that more important still are the commonplace, every-day qualities and virtues.

Such ordinary, every-day qualities include the will and the power to work, to fight at need, and to have plenty of healthy children. The need that the average man shall work is so obvious as hardly to warrant insistence. There are a few people in every country so born that they can lead lives of leisure. These fill a useful function if they make it evident that leisure does not mean idleness; for some of the most valuable work needed by civilization is essentially non-remunerative in its character, and of course the people who do this work should in large part be drawn from those to whom remuneration is an object of indifference. But the average man must earn his own livelihood. He should be trained to do so, and he should be trained to feel that he occupies a contemptible position if he does not do so; that he is not an object of envy if he is idle, at whichever end of the social scale he stands, but an object of contempt, an object of derision.

In the next place, the good man should be both a strong and a brave man; that is, he should be able to fight, he should be able to serve his country as a soldier if the need arises. There are well-meaning philosophers who declaim against the unrighteousness of war. They are right only if they lay all their emphasis upon the unrighteousness. War is a dreadful thing, and unjust war is a crime against humanity. But it is such a crime because

it is unjust, not because it is war. The choice must ever be in favor of righteousness, and this whether the alternative be peace or whether the alternative be war. The question must not be merely, Is there to be peace or war? The question must be, Is the right to prevail? Are the great laws of righteousness once more to be fulfilled? And the answer from a strong and virile people must be, "Yes," whatever the cost. Every honorable effort should always be made to avoid war, just as every honorable effort should always be made by the individual in private life to keep out of a brawl, to keep out of trouble; but no self-respecting individual, no self-respecting nation, can or ought to submit to wrong.

Finally, even more important than ability to work, even more important than ability to fight at need, is it to remember that the chief of blessings for any nation is that it shall leave its seed to inherit the land. It was the crown of blessings in Biblical times; and it is the crown of blessings now. The greatest of all curses is the curse of sterility, and the severest of all condemnations should be that visited upon willful sterility. The first essential in any civilization is that the man and the woman shall be father and mother of healthy children, so that the race shall increase and not decrease. If this is not so, if through no fault of the society there is failure to increase, it is a great misfortune. If the failure is due to deliberate and willful fault, then it is not merely a misfortune, it is one of those crimes of ease and self-indulgence, of

shrinking from pain and effort and risk, which in the long run Nature punishes more heavily than any other. If we of the great republics, if we, the free people who claim to have emancipated ourselves from the thraldom of wrong and error, bring down on our heads the curse that comes upon the willfully barren, then it will be an idle waste of breath to prattle of our achievements, to boast of all that we have done. No refinement of life, no delicacy of taste, no material progress, no sordid heaping up of riches, no sensuous development of art and literature, can in any way compensate for the loss of the great fundamental virtues; and of these great fundamental virtues, the greatest is the race's power to perpetuate the race.

Character must show itself in the man's performance both of the duty he owes himself and of the duty he owes the State. The man's foremost duty is owed to himself and his family; and he can do this duty only by earning money, by providing what is essential to material well-being; it is only after this has been done that he can hope to build a higher superstructure on the solid material foundation; it is only after this has been done that he can help in movements for the general well-being. He must pull his own weight first, and only after this can his surplus strength be of use to the general public. It is not good to excite that bitter laughter which expresses contempt; and contempt is what we feel for the being whose enthusiasm to benefit mankind is such that he is a burden to those

nearest him; who wishes to do great things for humanity in the abstract, but who cannot keep his wife in comfort or educate his children.

Nevertheless, while laying all stress on this point, while not merely acknowledging but insisting upon the fact that there must be a basis of material well-being for the individual as for the nation, let us with equal emphasis insist that this material well-being represents nothing but the foundation, and that the foundation, though indispensable, is worthless unless upon it is raised the superstructure of a higher life. That is why I decline to recognize the mere multi-millionaire, the man of mere wealth, as an asset of value to any country; and especially as not an asset to my own country. If he has earned or uses his wealth in a way that makes him of real benefit, of real use—and such is often the case—why, then he does become an asset of worth. But it is the way in which it has been earned or used, and not the mere fact of wealth, that entitles him to the credit. There is need in business, as in most other forms of human activity, of the great guiding intelligences. Their places cannot be supplied by any number of lesser intelligences. It is a good thing that they should have ample recognition, ample reward. But we must not transfer our admiration to the reward instead of to the deed rewarded; and if what should be the reward exists without the service having been rendered, then admiration will come only from those who are mean of soul. The truth is that, after a certain measure

of tangible material success or reward has been achieved, the question of increasing it becomes of constantly less importance compared to other things that can be done in life. It is a bad thing for a nation to raise and to admire a false standard of success; and there can be no falser standard than that set by the deification of material well-being in and for itself. The man who, for any cause for which he is himself accountable, has failed to support himself and those for whom he is responsible, ought to feel that he has fallen lamentably short in his prime duty. But the man who, having far surpassed the limit of providing for the wants, both of body and mind, of himself and of those depending upon him, then piles up a great fortune, for the acquisition or retention of which he returns no corresponding benefit to the nation as a whole, should himself be made to feel that, so far from being a desirable, he is an unworthy, citizen of the community; that he is to be neither admired nor envied; that his right-thinking fellow-countrymen put him low in the scale of citizenship, and leave him to be consoled by the admiration of those whose level of purpose is even lower than his own.

In fact, it is essential to good citizenship clearly to understand that there are certain qualities which we in a democracy are prone to admire in and of themselves, which ought by rights to be judged admirable or the reverse solely from the standpoint of the use made of them. Foremost among these I should include two very distinct gifts—the gift of

money-making and the gift of oratory. Money-making, the money touch, I have spoken of above. It is a quality which in a moderate degree is essential. It may be useful when developed to a very great degree, but only if accompanied and controlled by other qualities; and without such control the possessor tends to develop into one of the least attractive types produced by a modern industrial democracy. So it is with the orator. It is highly desirable that a leader of opinion in a democracy should be able to state his views clearly and convincingly. But all that the oratory can do of value to the community is to enable the man thus to explain himself; if it enables the orator to persuade his hearers to put false values on things, it merely makes him a power for mischief. Some excellent public servants have not the gift at all, and must rely upon their deeds to speak for them; and unless the oratory does represent genuine conviction, based on good common sense and able to be translated into efficient performance, then the better the oratory the greater the damage to the public it deceives. Indeed, it is a sign of marked political weakness in any commonwealth if the people tend to be carried away by mere oratory, if they tend to value words in and for themselves, as divorced from the deeds for which they are supposed to stand. The phrase-maker, the phrase-monger, the ready talker, however great his power, whose speech does not make for courage, sobriety, and right understanding, is simply a noxious element in

the body politic, and it speaks ill for the public if he has influence over them. To admire the gift of oratory without regard to the moral quality behind the gift is to do wrong to the republic.

Of course all that I say of the orator applies with even greater force to the orator's latter-day and more influential brother, the journalist. The power of the journalist is great, but he is entitled neither to respect nor admiration because of that power unless it is used aright. He can do, and he often does, infinite mischief. All journalists, all writers, for the very reason that they appreciate the vast possibilities of their profession, should bear testimony against those who deeply discredit it. Offences against taste and morals, which are bad enough in a private citizen, are infinitely worse if made into instruments for debauching the community through a newspaper. Mendacity, slander, sensationalism, inanity, vapid triviality, all are potent factors for the debauchery of the public mind and conscience. The excuse advanced for vicious writing, that the public demands it and that the demand must be supplied, can no more be admitted than if it were advanced by the purveyors of food who sell poisonous adulterations.

In short, the good citizen in a republic must realize that he ought to possess two sets of qualities, and that neither avails without the other. He must have those qualities which make for efficiency; and he must also have those qualities which direct the efficiency into channels for the public good. He is

useless if he is inefficient. There is nothing to be done with that type of citizen of whom all that can be said is that he is harmless. Virtue which is dependent upon a sluggish circulation is not impressive. There is little place in active life for the timid good man. The man who is saved by weakness from robust wickedness is likewise rendered immune from the robuster virtues. The good citizen in a republic must first of all be able to hold his own. He is no good citizen unless he has the ability which will make him work hard and which at need will make him fight hard. The good citizen is not a good citizen unless he is an efficient citizen.

But if a man's efficiency is not guided and regulated by a moral sense, then the more efficient he is the worse he is, the more dangerous to the body politic. Courage, intellect, all the masterful qualities, serve but to make a man more evil if they are used merely for that man's own advancement, with brutal indifference to the rights of others. It speaks ill for the community if the community worships these qualities and treats their possessors as heroes regardless of whether the qualities are used rightly or wrongly. It makes no difference as to the precise way in which this sinister efficiency is shown. It makes no difference whether such a man's force and ability betray themselves in career of money-maker or politician, soldier or orator, journalist or popular leader. If the man works for evil, then the more successful he is the more he should be despised

and condemned by all upright and far-seeing men. To judge a man merely by success is an abhorrent wrong; and if the people at large habitually so judge men, if they grow to condone wickedness because the wicked man triumphs, they show their inability to understand that in the last analysis free institutions rest upon the character of citizenship, and that by such admiration of evil they prove themselves unfit for liberty.

The homely virtues of the household, the ordinary workaday virtues which make the woman a good housewife and housemother, which make the man a hard worker, a good husband and father, a good soldier at need, stand at the bottom of character. But of course many others must be added thereto if a State is to be not only free but great. Good citizenship is not good citizenship if exhibited only in the home. There remain the duties of the individual in relation to the State, and these duties are none too easy under the conditions which exist where the effort is made to carry on free government in a complex, industrial civilization. Perhaps the most important thing the ordinary citizen, and, above all, the leader of ordinary citizens, has to remember in political life is that he must not be a sheer doctrinaire. The closest philosopher, the refined and cultured individual who from his library tells how men ought to be governed under ideal conditions, is of no use in actual governmental work; and the one-sided fanatic, and still more the mob leader, and the insincere man who to

achieve power promises what by no possibility can be performed, are not merely useless but noxious.

The citizen must have high ideals, and yet he must be able to achieve them in practical fashion. No permanent good comes from aspirations so lofty that they have grown fantastic and have become impossible and indeed undesirable to realize. The impracticable visionary is far less often the guide and precursor than he is the embittered foe of the real reformer, of the man who, with stumblings and shortcomings, yet does in some shape, in practical fashion, give effect to the hopes and desires of those who strive for better things. Woe to the empty phrase-maker, to the empty idealist, who, instead of making ready the ground for the man of action, turns against him when he appears and hampers him as he does the work! Moreover, the preacher of ideals must remember how sorry and contemptible is the figure which he will cut, how great the damage that he will do, if he does not himself, in his own life, strive measurably to realize the ideals that he preaches for others. Let him remember also that the worth of the ideal must be largely determined by the success with which it can in practice be realized. We should abhor the so-called "practical" men whose practicality assumes the shape of that peculiar baseness which finds its expression in disbelief in morality and decency, in disregard of high standards of living and conduct. Such a creature is the worst enemy of the body politic. But only less desirable as a citizen is his nominal oppo-

nent and real ally, the man of fantastic vision who makes the impossible better forever the enemy of the possible good.

We can just as little afford to follow the doctrinaires of an extreme individualism as the doctrinaires of an extreme socialism. Individual initiative, so far from being discouraged, should be stimulated; and yet we should remember that, as society develops and grows more complex, we continually find that things which once it was desirable to leave to individual initiative can, under the changed conditions, be performed with better results by common effort. It is quite impossible, and equally undesirable, to draw in theory a hard and fast line which shall always divide the two sets of cases. This every one who is not cursed with the pride of the closet philosopher will see, if he will only take the trouble to think about some of our commonest phenomena. For instance, when people live on isolated farms or in little hamlets, each house can be left to attend to its own drainage and water supply; but the mere multiplication of families in a given area produces new problems which, because they differ in size, are found to differ not only in degree but in kind from the old; and the questions of drainage and water supply have to be considered from the common standpoint. It is not a matter for abstract dogmatizing to decide when this point is reached; it is matter to be tested by practical experiment. Much of the discussion about socialism and individualism is entirely pointless, be-

cause of failure to agree on terminology. It is not good to be the slave of names. I am a strong individualist by personal habit, inheritance, and conviction; but it is a mere matter of common sense to recognize that the State, the community, the citizens acting together, can do a number of things better than if they were left to individual action. The individualism which finds its expression in the abuse of physical force is checked very early in the growth of civilization, and we of to-day should in our turn strive to shackle or destroy that individualism which triumphs by greed and cunning, which exploits the weak by craft instead of ruling them by brutality. We ought to go with any man in the effort to bring about justice and the equality of opportunity, to turn the tool user more and more into the tool owner, to shift burdens so that they can be more equitably borne. The deadening effect on any race of the adoption of a logical and extreme socialistic system could not be overstated; it would spell sheer destruction; it would produce grosser wrong and outrage, fouler immorality, than any existing system. But this does not mean that we may not with great advantage adopt certain of the principles professed by some given set of men who happen to call themselves Socialists; to be afraid to do so would be to make a mark of weakness on our part.

But we should not take part in acting a lie any more than in telling a lie. We should not say that men are equal where they are not equal, nor pro-

ceed upon the assumption that there is an equality where it does not exist; but we should strive to bring about a measurable equality, at least to the extent of preventing the inequality which is due to force or fraud. Abraham Lincoln, a man of the plain people, blood of their blood and bone of their bone, who all his life toiled and wrought and suffered for them, and at the end died for them, who always strove to represent them, who would never tell an untruth to or for them, spoke of the doctrine of equality with his usual mixture of idealism and sound common sense. He said (I omit what was of merely local significance) : " I think the authors of the Declaration of Independence intended to include all men, but that they did not mean to declare all men equal *in all respects*. They did not mean to say all men were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what they did consider all men created equal—equal in certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This they said, and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all were then actually enjoying that equality, or yet that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all—constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and, even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence, and

augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people, everywhere."

We are bound in honor to refuse to listen to those men who would make us desist from the effort to do away with the inequality which means injustice; the inequality of right, of opportunity, of privilege. We are bound in honor to strive to bring ever nearer the day when, as far as is humanly possible, we shall be able to realize the ideal that each man shall have an equal opportunity to show the stuff that is in him by the way in which he renders service. There should, so far as possible, be equality of opportunity to render service; but just so long as there is inequality of service there should and must be inequality of reward. We may be sorry for the general, the painter, the artist, the worker in any profession or of any kind, whose misfortune rather than whose fault it is that he does his work ill. But the reward must go to the man who does his work well; for any other course is to create a new kind of privilege, the privilege of folly and weakness; and special privilege is injustice, whatever form it takes.

To say that the thriftless, the lazy, the vicious, the incapable, ought to have the reward given to those who are far-sighted, capable, and upright, is to say what is not true and cannot be true. Let us try to level up, but let us beware of the evil of leveling down. If a man stumbles, it is a good thing to help him to his feet. Every one of us needs a helping hand now and then. But if a man lies down,

it is a waste of time to try to carry him; and it is a very bad thing for every one if we make men feel that the same reward will come to those who shirk their work and to those who do it.

Let us, then, take into account the actual facts of life, and not be misled into following any proposal for achieving the millennium, for recreating the golden age, until we have subjected it to hard-headed examination. On the other hand, it is foolish to reject a proposal merely because it is advanced by visionaries. If a given scheme is proposed, look at it on its merits, and, in considering it, disregard formulas. It does not matter in the least who proposes it, or why. If it seems good, try it. If it proves good, accept it; otherwise reject it. There are plenty of men calling themselves Socialists with whom, up to a certain point, it is quite possible to work. If the next step is one which both we and they wish to take, why of course take it, without any regard to the fact that our views as to the tenth step may differ. But on the other hand, keep clearly in mind that, though it has been worth while to take one step, this does not in the least mean that it may not be highly disadvantageous to take the next. It is just as foolish to refuse all progress because people demanding it desire at some points to go to absurd extremes, as it would be to go to these absurd extremes simply because some of the measures advocated by the extremists were wise.

The good citizen will demand liberty for himself, and as a matter of pride he will see to it that

others receive the liberty which he thus claims as his own. Probably the best test of true love of liberty in any country is the way in which minorities are treated in that country. Not only should there be complete liberty in matters of religion and opinion, but complete liberty for each man to lead his life as he desires, provided only that in so doing he does not wrong his neighbor. Persecution is bad because it is persecution, and without reference to which side happens at the moment to be the persecutor and which the persecuted. Class hatred is bad in just the same way, and without any regard to the individual who, at a given time, substitutes loyalty to a class for loyalty to the nation, or substitutes hatred of men because they happen to come in a certain social category, for judgment awarded them according to their conduct. Remember always that the same measure of condemnation should be extended to the arrogance which would look down upon or crush any man because he is poor, and to the envy and hatred which would destroy a man because he is wealthy. The overbearing brutality of the man of wealth or power, and the envious and hateful malice directed against wealth or power, are really at root merely different manifestations of the same quality, merely the two sides of the same shield. The man who, if born to wealth and power, exploits and ruins his less fortunate brethren, is at heart the same as the greedy and violent demagogue who excites those who have not property to plunder those who have. The gravest wrong

upon his country is inflicted by that man, whatever his station, who seeks to make his countrymen divide primarily on the line that separates class from class, occupation from occupation, men of more wealth from men of less wealth, instead of remembering that the only safe standard is that which judges each man on his worth as a man, whether he be rich or poor, without regard to his profession or to his station in life. Such is the only true democratic test, the only test that can with propriety be applied in a republic. There have been many republics in the past, both in what we call antiquity and in what we call the Middle Ages. They fell, and the prime factor in their fall was the fact that the parties tended to divide along the line that separates wealth from poverty. It made no difference which side was successful; it made no difference whether the republic fell under the rule of an oligarchy or the rule of a mob. In either case, when once loyalty to a class had been substituted for loyalty to the republic, the end of the republic was at hand. There is no greater need to-day than the need to keep ever in mind the fact that the cleavage between right and wrong, between good citizenship and bad citizenship, runs at right angles to, and not parallel with, the lines of cleavage between class and class, between occupation and occupation. Ruin looks us in the face if we judge a man by his position instead of judging him by his conduct in that position.

In a republic, to be successful we must learn to combine intensity of conviction with a broad toler-

ance of difference of conviction. Wide differences of opinion in matters of religious, political, and social belief must exist if conscience and intellect alike are not to be stunted, if there is to be room for healthy growth. Bitter internecine hatreds, based on such differences, are signs, not of earnestness of belief, but of that fanaticism which, whether religious or anti-religious, democratic or anti-democratic, is itself but a manifestation of the gloomy bigotry which has been the chief factor in the downfall of so many, many nations.

Of one man in especial, beyond any one else, the citizens of a republic should beware, and that is of the man who appeals to them to support him on the ground that he is hostile to other citizens of the republic, that he will secure for those who elect him, in one shape or another, profit at the expense of other citizens of the republic. It makes no difference whether he appeals to class hatred or class interest, to religious or anti-religious prejudice. The man who makes such an appeal should always be presumed to make it for the sake of furthering his own interest. The very last thing that an intelligent and self-respecting member of a democratic community should do is to reward any public man because that public man says he will get the private citizen something to which this private citizen is not entitled, or will gratify some emotion or animosity which this private citizen ought not to possess. Let me illustrate this by one anecdote from my own experience. A number of years ago I was engaged

in cattle-ranching on the great plains of the western United States. There were no fences. The cattle wandered free, the ownership of each being determined by the brand; the calves were branded with the brand of the cows they followed. If on the round-up an animal was passed by, the following year it would appear as an unbranded yearling, and was then called a maverick. By the custom of the country these mavericks were branded with the brand of the man on whose range they were found. One day I was riding the range with a newly hired cowboy, and we came upon a maverick. We roped and threw it; then we built a little fire, took out a cinch-ring, heated it at the fire; and the cowboy started to put on the brand. I said to him, "It is So-and-so's brand," naming the man on whose range we happened to be. He answered, "That's all right, boss; I know my business." In another moment I said to him, "Hold on, you are putting on my brand!" To which he answered, "That's all right; I always put on the boss's brand." I answered, "Oh, very well. Now you go straight back to the ranch and get what is owing to you; I don't need you any longer." He jumped up and said, "Why, what's the matter? I was putting on your brand." And I answered, "Yes, my friend, and if you will steal *for* me you will steal *from* me."

Now, the same principle which applies in private life applies also in public life. If a public man tries to get your vote by saying that he will do

something wrong *in* your interest, you can be absolutely certain that if ever it becomes worth his while he will do something wrong *against* your interest.

So much for the citizenship of the individual in his relations to his family, to his neighbor, to the State. There remain duties of citizenship which the State, the aggregation of all the individuals, owes in connection with other States, with other nations. Let me say at once that I am no advocate of a foolish cosmopolitanism. I believe that a man must be a good patriot before he can be, and as the only possible way of being, a good citizen of the world. Experience teaches us that the average man who protests that his international feeling swamps his national feeling, that he does not care for his country because he cares so much for mankind, in actual practice proves himself the foe of mankind; that the man who says that he does not care to be a citizen of any one country, because he is a citizen of the world, is in very fact usually an exceedingly undesirable citizen of whatever corner of the world he happens at the moment to be in. In the dim future all moral needs and moral standards may change; but at present, if a man can view his own country and all other countries from the same level with tepid indifference, it is wise to distrust him, just as it is wise to distrust the man who can take the same dispassionate view of his wife and his mother. However broad and deep a man's sympathies, however intense his activities, he need have

no fear that they will be cramped by love of his native land.

Now, this does not mean in the least that a man should not wish to do good outside of his native land. On the contrary, just as I think that the man who loves his family is more apt to be a good neighbor than the man who does not, so I think that the most useful member of the family of nations is normally a strongly patriotic nation. So far from patriotism being inconsistent with a proper regard for the rights of other nations, I hold that the true patriot, who is as jealous of the national honor as a gentleman of his own honor, will be careful to see that the nation neither inflicts nor suffers wrong, just as a gentleman scorns equally to wrong others or to suffer others to wrong him. I do not for one moment admit that political morality is different from private morality, that a promise made on the stump differs from a promise made in private life. I do not for one moment admit that a man should act deceitfully as a public servant in his dealings with other nations, any more than that he should act deceitfully in his dealings as a private citizen with other private citizens. I do not for one moment admit that a nation should treat other nations in a different spirit from that in which an honorable man would treat other men.

In practically applying this principle to the two sets of cases there is, of course, a great practical difference to be taken into account. We speak of international law; but international law is some-

thing wholly different from private or municipal law, and the capital difference is that there is a sanction for the one and no sanction for the other; that there is an outside force which compels individuals to obey the one, while there is no such outside force to compel obedience as regards the other. International law will, I believe, as the generations pass, grow stronger and stronger until in some way or other there develops the power to make it respected. But as yet it is only in the first formative period. As yet, as a rule, each nation is of necessity obliged to judge for itself in matters of vital importance between it and its neighbors, and actions must of necessity, where this is the case, be different from what they are where, as among private citizens, there is an outside force whose action is all-powerful and must be invoked in any crisis of importance. It is the duty of wise statesmen, gifted with the power of looking ahead, to try to encourage and build up every movement which will substitute or tend to substitute some other agency for force in the settlement of international disputes. It is the duty of every honest statesman to try to guide the nation so that it shall not wrong any other nation. But as yet the great civilized peoples, if they are to be true to themselves and to the cause of humanity and civilization, must keep ever in mind that in the last resort they must possess both the will and the power to resent wrong-doing from others. The men who sanely believe in a lofty morality preach righteousness; but they do not preach weak-

ness, whether among private citizens or among nations. We believe that our ideals should be high, but not so high as to make it impossible measurably to realize them. We sincerely and earnestly believe in peace; but if peace and justice conflict, we scorn the man who would not stand for justice though the whole world came in arms against him.

And now, my hosts, a word in parting. You and I belong to the only two Republics among the great powers of the world. The ancient friendship between France and the United States has been, on the whole, a sincere and disinterested friendship. A calamity to you would be a sorrow to us. But it would be more than that. In the seething turmoil of the history of humanity certain nations stand out as possessing a peculiar power or charm, some special gift of beauty or wisdom or strength, which puts them among the immortals, which makes them rank forever with the leaders of mankind. France is one of these nations. For her to sink would be a loss to all the world. There are certain lessons of brilliance and of generous gallantry that she can teach better than any of her sister nations. When the French peasantry sang of Malbrook, it was to tell how the soul of this warrior-foe took flight upward through the laurels he had won. Nearly seven centuries ago, Froissart, writing of a time of dire disaster, said that the realm of France was never so stricken that there were not left men who would valiantly fight for it. You have had a great past. I believe that you will have a great future. Long

may you carry yourselves proudly as citizens of a nation which bears a leading part in the teaching and uplifting of mankind.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE NOBEL PRIZE COMMITTEE, DELIVERED AT CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY, MAY 5, 1910

It is with peculiar pleasure that I stand here to-day to express the deep appreciation I feel of the high honor conferred upon me by the presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize. The gold medal which formed part of the prize I shall always keep, and I shall hand it on to my children as a precious heirloom. The sum of money provided as part of the prize by the wise generosity of the illustrious founder of this world-famous prize system, I did not, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, feel at liberty to keep. I think it eminently just and proper that in most cases the recipient of the prize should keep for his own use the prize in its entirety. But in this case, while I did not act officially as President of the United States, it was nevertheless only because I was President that I was enabled to act at all; and I felt that the money must be considered as having been given me in trust for the United States. I therefore used it as a nucleus for a foundation to forward the cause of industrial peace, as being well within the general purpose of your Committee; for in our complex industrial civilization of to-day the peace of righteousness and

justice, the only kind of peace worth having, is at least as necessary in the industrial world as it is among nations. There is at least as much need to curb the cruel greed and arrogance of part of the world of capital, to curb the cruel greed and violence of part of the world of labor, as to check a cruel and unhealthy militarism in international relationships.

We must ever bear in mind that the great end in view is righteousness, justice as between man and man, nation and nation, the chance to lead our lives on a somewhat higher level, with a broader spirit of brotherly good will one for another. Peace is generally good in itself, but it is never the highest good unless it comes as the handmaid of righteousness; and it becomes a very evil thing if it serves merely as a mask for cowardice and sloth, or as an instrument to further the ends of despotism or anarchy. We despise and abhor the bully, the brawler, the oppressor, whether in private or public life; but we despise no less the coward and the voluptuary. No man is worth calling a man who will not fight rather than submit to infamy or see those that are dear to him suffer wrong. No nation deserves to exist if it permits itself to lose the stern and virile virtues; and this without regard to whether the loss is due to the growth of a heartless and all-absorbing commercialism, to prolonged indulgence in luxury and soft effortless ease, or to the deification of a warped and twisted sentimentality.

Moreover, and above all, let us remember that words count only when they give expression to deeds or are to be translated into them. The leaders of the Red Terror prattled of peace while they steeped their hands in the blood of the innocent; and many a tyrant has called it peace when he has scourged honest protest into silence. Our words must be judged by our deeds; and in striving for a lofty ideal we must use practical methods; and if we cannot attain all at one leap, we must advance towards it step by step, reasonably content so long as we do actually make some progress in the right direction.

Now, having freely admitted the limitations to our work, and the qualifications to be borne in mind, I feel that I have the right to have my words taken seriously when I point out where, in my judgment, great advance can be made in the cause of international peace. I speak as a practical man, and whatever I now advocate I actually tried to do when I was for the time being the head of a great nation, and keenly jealous of its honor and interest. I ask other nations to do only what I should be glad to see my own nation do.

The advance can be made along several lines. First of all there can be treaties of arbitration. There are, of course, states so backward that a civilized community ought not to enter into an arbitration treaty with them, at least until we have gone much further than at present in securing some kind of international police action. But all really

civilized communities should have effective arbitration treaties among themselves. I believe that these treaties can cover almost all questions liable to arise between such nations, if they are drawn with the explicit agreement that each contracting party will respect the other's territory and its absolute sovereignty within that territory, and the equally explicit agreement that (aside from the very rare cases where the nation's honor is vitally concerned) all other possible subjects of controversy will be submitted to arbitration. Such a treaty would insure peace unless one party deliberately violated it. Of course, as yet there is no adequate safeguard against such deliberate violation, but the establishment of a sufficient number of these treaties would go a long way towards creating a world opinion which would finally find expression in the provision of methods to forbid or punish any such violation.

Secondly, there is the further development of the Hague Tribunal, of the work of the conferences and courts at The Hague. It has been well said that the first Hague Conference framed a Magna Charta for the nations; it set before us an ideal which has already to some extent been realized, and towards the full realization of which we can all steadily strive. The second Conference made further progress; the third should do yet more. Meanwhile the American Government has more than once tentatively suggested methods for completing the Court of Arbitral Justice, constituted at the

second Hague Conference, and for rendering it effective. It is earnestly to be hoped that the various Governments of Europe, working with those of America and of Asia, shall set themselves seriously to the task of devising some method which shall accomplish this result. If I may venture the suggestion, it would be well for the statesmen of the world, in planning for the erection of this world court, to study what has been done in the United States by the Supreme Court. I cannot help thinking that the Constitution of the United States, notably in the establishment of the Supreme Court and in the methods adopted for securing peace and good relations among and between the different States, offers certain valuable analogies to what should be striven for in order to secure, through the Hague courts and conferences, a species of world federation for international peace and justice. There are, of course, fundamental differences between what the United States Constitution does and what we should even attempt at this time to secure at The Hague; but the methods adopted in the American Constitution to prevent hostilities between the States, and to secure the supremacy of the Federal Court in certain classes of cases, are well worth the study of those who seek at The Hague to obtain the same results on a world scale.

In the third place, something should be done as soon as possible to check the growth of armaments, especially naval armaments, by international agreement. No one power could or should act by itself;

for it is eminently undesirable, from the standpoint of the peace of righteousness, that a power which really does believe in peace should place itself at the mercy of some rival which may at bottom have no such belief and no intention of acting on it. But, granted sincerity of purpose, the great powers of the world should find no insurmountable difficulty in reaching an agreement which would put an end to the present costly and growing extravagance of expenditure on naval armaments. An agreement merely to limit the size of ships would have been very useful a few years ago, and would still be of use; but the agreement should go much further.

Finally, it would be a master stroke if those great powers honestly bent on peace would form a League of Peace, not only to keep the peace among themselves, but to prevent, by force if necessary, its being broken by others. The supreme difficulty in connection with developing the peace work of The Hague arises from the lack of any executive power, of any police power to enforce the decrees of the court. In any community of any size the authority of the courts rests upon actual or potential force; on the existence of a police, or on the knowledge that the able-bodied men of the country are both ready and willing to see that the decrees of judicial and legislative bodies are put into effect. In new and wild communities where there is violence, an honest man must protect himself; and until other means of securing his safety are devised, it is both foolish

and wicked to persuade him to surrender his arms while the men who are dangerous to the community retain theirs. He should not renounce the right to protect himself by his own efforts until the community is so organized that it can effectively relieve the individual of the duty of putting down violence. So it is with nations. Each nation must keep well prepared to defend itself until the establishment of some form of international police power, competent and willing to prevent violence as between nations. As things are now, such power to command peace throughout the world could best be assured by some combination between those great nations which sincerely desire peace and have no thought themselves of committing aggressions. The combination might at first be only to secure peace within certain definite limits and certain definite conditions; but the ruler or statesman who should bring about such a combination would have earned his place in history for all time and his title to the gratitude of all mankind.

THE WORLD MOVEMENT

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN, MAY 12, 1910

I very highly appreciate the chance to address the University of Berlin in the year that closes its first centenary of existence. It is difficult for you in the Old World fully to appreciate the feelings of a man who comes from a nation still in the making, to a

country with an immemorial historic past; and especially is this the case when that country, with its ancient past behind it, yet looks with proud confidence into the future, and in the present shows all the abounding vigor of lusty youth. Such is the case with Germany. More than a thousand years have passed since the Roman Empire of the West became in fact a German Empire. Throughout mediæval times the Empire and the Papacy were the two central features in the history of the Occident. With the Ottos and the Henrys began the slow rise of that Western life which has shaped modern Europe, and therefore ultimately the whole modern world. Their task was to organize society and to keep it from crumbling to pieces. They were castle-builders, city-founders, road-makers; they battled to bring order out of the seething turbulence around them; and at the same time they first beat back heathendom and then slowly wrested from it its possessions.

After the downfall of Rome and the breaking in sunder of the Roman Empire, the first real crystallization of the forces that were working for a new uplift of civilization in western Europe was round the Karling House, and, above all, round the great Emperor, Karl the Great, the seat of whose Empire was at Aachen. Under the Karlings the Arab and the Moor were driven back beyond the Pyrenees; the last of the old heathen Germans were forced into Christianity, and the Avars, wild horsemen from the Asian steppes, who had

long held tented dominion in Middle Europe, were utterly destroyed. With the break-up of the Karling Empire came chaos once more, and a fresh inrush of savagery: Vikings from the frozen North, and new hordes of outlandish riders from Asia. It was the early Emperors of Germany proper who quelled these barbarians; in their time Dane and Norseman and Magyar became Christians, and most of the Slav peoples as well, so that Europe began to take on a shape which we can recognize to-day. Since then the centuries have rolled by, with strange alternations of fortune, now well-nigh barren, and again great with German achievement in arms and in government, in science and the arts. The center of power shifted hither and thither within German lands; the great house of Hohenzollern rose, the house which has at last seen Germany spring into a commanding position in the very forefront among the nations of mankind.

To this ancient land, with its glorious past and splendid present, to this land of many memories and of eager hopes, I come from a young nation, which is by blood akin to, and yet different from, each of the great nations of Middle and Western Europe; which has inherited or acquired much from each, but is changing and developing every inheritance and acquisition into something new and strange. The German strain in our blood is large, for almost from the beginning there has been a large German element among the successive waves of newcomers whose children's children have been and are being

fused into the American nation; and I myself trace my origin to that branch of the Low Dutch stock which raised Holland out of the North Sea. Moreover, we have taken from you, not only much of the blood that runs through our veins, but much of the thought that shapes our minds. For generations American scholars have flocked to your universities, and, thanks to the wise foresight of his Imperial Majesty the present Emperor, the intimate and friendly connection between the two countries is now in every way closer than it has ever been before.

Germany is pre-eminently a country in which the world movement of to-day in all of its multitudinous aspects is plainly visible. The life of this University covers the period during which that movement has spread until it is felt throughout every continent; while its velocity has been constantly accelerating, so that the face of the world has changed, and is now changing, as never before. It is therefore fit and appropriate here to speak on this subject.

When, in the slow procession of the ages, man was developed on this planet, the change worked by his appearance was at first slight. Further ages passed, while he groped and struggled by infinitesimal degrees upward through the lower grades of savagery; for the general law is that life which is advanced and complex, whatever its nature, changes more quickly than simpler and less advanced forms. The life of savages changes and advances with ex-

treme slowness, and groups of savages influence one another but little. The first rudimentary beginnings of that complex life of communities which we call civilization marked a period when man had already long been by far the most important creature on the planet. The history of the living world had become, in fact, the history of man, and therefore something totally different in kind as well as in degree from what it had been before. There are interesting analogies between what has gone on in the development of life generally and what has gone on in the development of human society, and these I shall discuss elsewhere. But the differences are profound, and go to the root of things.

Throughout their early stages the movements of civilization—for, properly speaking, there was no one movement—were very slow, were local in space, and were partial in the sense that each developed along but few lines. Of the numberless years that covered these early stages we have no record. They were the years that saw such extraordinary discoveries and inventions as fire, and the wheel, and the bow, and the domestication of animals. So local were these inventions that at the present day there yet linger savage tribes, still fixed in the half-bestial life of an infinitely remote past, who know none of them except fire—and the discovery and use of fire may have marked, not the beginning of civilization, but the beginning of the savagery which separated man from brute.

Even after civilization and culture had achieved

a relatively high position, they were still purely local, and from this fact subject to violent shocks. Modern research has shown the existence in prehistoric, or at least proto-historic, times of many peoples who, in given localities achieved a high and peculiar culture, a culture that was later so completely destroyed that it is difficult to say what, if any, traces it left on the subsequent cultures out of which we have developed our own; while it is also difficult to say exactly how much any one of these cultures influenced any other. In many cases, as where invaders with weapons of bronze or iron conquered the neolithic peoples, the higher civilization completely destroyed the lower civilization, or barbarism, with which it came in contact. In other cases, while superiority in culture gave its possessors at the beginning a marked military and governmental superiority over the neighboring peoples, yet sooner or later there accompanied it a certain softness or enervating quality which left the cultured folk at the mercy of the stark and greedy neighboring tribes, in whose savage souls cupidity gradually overcame terror and awe. Then the people that had been struggling upward would be engulfed, and the leveling waves of barbarism wash over them. But we are not yet in position to speak definitely on these matters. It is only the researches of recent years that have enabled us so much as to guess at the course of events in prehistoric Greece; while as yet we can hardly even hazard a guess as to how, for instance, the Hallstatt culture rose

and fell, or as to the history and fate of the builders of those strange ruins of which Stonehenge is the type.

The first civilizations which left behind them clear records rose in that hoary historic past which geologically is part of the immediate present—and which is but a span's length from the present, even when compared only with the length of time that man has lived on this planet. These first civilizations were those which rose in Mesopotamia and the Nile valley some six or eight thousand years ago. As far as we can see, they were well-nigh independent centers of cultural development, and our knowledge is not such at present as to enable us to connect either with the early cultural movements in southwestern Europe on the one hand, or in India on the other, or with that Chinese civilization which has been so profoundly affected by Indian influences.

Compared with the civilizations with which we are best acquainted, the striking features in the Mesopotamian and Nilotic civilizations were the length of time they endured and their comparative changelessness. The kings, priests, and peoples who dwelt by the Nile or Euphrates are found thinking much the same thoughts, doing much the same deeds, leaving at least very similar records, while time passes in tens of centuries. Of course there was change; of course there was action and reaction in influence between them and their neighbors; and the movement of change, of development, ma-

terial, mental, spiritual, was much faster than anything that had occurred during the æons of mere savagery. But in contradistinction to modern times the movement was very slow indeed, and, moreover, in each case it was strongly localized; while the field of endeavor was narrow. There were certain conquests by man over nature; there were certain conquests in the domain of pure intellect; there were certain extensions which spread the area of civilized mankind. But it would be hard to speak of it as a "world movement" at all; for by far the greater part of the habitable globe was not only unknown, but its existence unguessed at, so far as peoples with any civilization whatsoever were concerned.

With the downfall of these ancient civilizations there sprang into prominence those peoples with whom our own cultural history may be said to begin. Those ideas and influences in our lives which we can consciously trace back at all are in the great majority of instances to be traced to the Jew, the Greek, or the Roman; and the ordinary man, when he speaks of the nations of antiquity, has in mind specifically these three peoples—although, judged even by the history of which we have record, theirs is a very modern antiquity indeed.

The case of the Jew was quite exceptional. His was a small nation, of little more consequence than the sister nations of Moab and Damascus, until all three, and the other petty states of the country, fell under the yoke of the alien. Then he survived, while all his fellows died. In the spiritual domain

he contributed a religion which has been the most potent of all factors in its effect on the subsequent history of mankind; but none of his other contributions compare with the legacies left us by the Greek and the Roman.

The Græco-Roman world saw a civilization far more brilliant, far more varied and intense, than any that had gone before it, and one that affected a far larger share of the world's surface. For the first time there began to be something which at least foreshadowed a "world movement" in the sense that it affected a considerable portion of the world's surface and that it represented what was incomparably the most important of all that was happening in world history at the time. In breadth and depth the field of intellectual interest had greatly broadened at the same time that the physical area affected by the civilization had similarly extended. Instead of a civilization affecting only one river valley or one nook of the Mediterranean, there was a civilization which directly or indirectly influenced mankind from the Desert of Sahara to the Baltic, from the Atlantic Ocean to the westernmost mountain chains that spring from the Himalayas. Throughout most of this region there began to work certain influences which, though with widely varying intensity, did nevertheless tend to affect a large portion of mankind. In many of the forms of science, in almost all the forms of art, there was great activity. In addition to great soldiers there were great administrators and statesmen whose concern was with

the fundamental questions of social and civil life. Nothing like the width and variety of intellectual achievement and understanding had ever before been known; and for the first time we come across great intellectual leaders, great philosophers and writers, whose works are a part of all that is highest in modern thought, whose writings are as alive to-day as when they were first issued; and there were others of even more daring and original temper, a philosopher like Democritus, a poet like Lucretius, whose minds leaped ahead through the centuries and saw what none of their contemporaries saw, but who were so hampered by their surroundings that it was physically impossible for them to leave to the later world much concrete addition to knowledge. The civilization was one of comparatively rapid change, viewed by the standard of Babylon and Memphis. There was incessant movement; and, moreover, the whole system went down with a crash to seeming destruction after a period short compared with that covered by the reigns of a score of Egyptian dynasties, or with the time that elapsed between a Babylonian defeat by Elam and a war sixteen centuries later which fully avenged it.

This civilization flourished with brilliant splendor. Then it fell. In its northern seats it was overwhelmed by a wave of barbarism from among those half-savage peoples from whom you and I, my hearers, trace our descent. In the south and east it was destroyed later, but far more thoroughly, by invaders of an utterly different type. Both con-

quests were of great importance; but it was the northern conquest which in its ultimate effects was of by far the greatest importance.

With the advent of the Dark Ages the movement of course ceased, and it did not begin anew for many centuries; while a thousand years passed before it was once more in full swing, so far as European civilization, so far as the world civilization of to-day, is concerned. During all those centuries the civilized world, in our acceptation of the term, was occupied, as its chief task, in slowly climbing back to the position from which it had fallen after the age of the Antonines. Of course a general statement like this must be accepted with qualifications. There is no hard and fast line between one age or period and another, and in no age is either progress or retrogression universal in all things. There were many points in which the Middle Ages, because of the simple fact that they were Christian, surpassed the brilliant pagan civilization of the past; and there are some points in which the civilization that succeeded them has sunk below the level of the ages which saw such mighty masterpieces of poetry, of architecture—especially cathedral achitecture—and of serene spiritual and forceful lay leadership. But they were centuries of violence, rapine, and cruel injustice; and truth was so little heeded that the noble and daring spirits who sought it, especially in its scientific form, did so in deadly peril of the fagot and the halter.

During this period there were several very im-

portant extra-European movements, one or two of which deeply affected Europe. Islam arose, and conquered far and wide, uniting fundamentally different races into a brotherhood of feeling which Christianity has never been able to rival, and at the time of the Crusades profoundly influencing European culture. It produced a civilization of its own, brilliant and here and there useful, but hopelessly limited when compared with the civilization of which we ourselves are the heirs. The great cultured peoples of southeastern and eastern Asia continued their checkered development totally unaffected by, and without knowledge of, any European influence.

Throughout the whole period there came against Europe, out of the unknown wastes of central Asia, an endless succession of strange and terrible conqueror races whose mission was mere destruction—Hun and Avar, Mongol, Tartar, and Turk. These fierce and squalid tribes of warrior horsemen flailed mankind with red scourges, wasted and destroyed, and then vanished from the ground they had overrun. But in no way worth noting did they count in the advance of mankind.

At last, a little over four hundred years ago, the movement towards a world civilization took up its interrupted march. The beginning of the modern movement may roughly be taken as synchronizing with the discovery of printing, and with that series of bold sea ventures which culminated in the discovery of America; and after these two epochal

feats had begun to produce their full effects in material and intellectual life, it became inevitable that civilization should thereafter differ not only in degree but even in kind from all that had gone before. Immediately after the voyage of Columbus and Vasco da Gama there began a tremendous religious ferment; the awakening of intellect went hand in hand with the moral uprising; the great names of Copernicus, Bruno, Kepler, and Galileo show that the mind of man was breaking the fetters that had cramped it; and for the first time experimentation was used as a check upon observation and theorization. Since then, century by century, the changes have increased in rapidity and complexity, and have attained their maximum in both respects during the century just past. Instead of being directed by one or two dominant peoples, as was the case with all similar movements of the past, the new movement was shared by many different nations. From every standpoint it has been of infinitely greater moment than anything hitherto seen. Not in one but in many different peoples there has been extraordinary growth in wealth, in population, in power of organization, and in mastery over mechanical activity and natural resources. All of this has been accompanied and signalized by an immense outburst of energy and restless initiative. The result is as varied as it is striking.

In the first place, representatives of this civilization, by their conquest of space, were enabled to spread into all the practically vacant continents,

while at the same time, by their triumphs in organization and mechanical invention, they acquired an unheard-of military superiority as compared with their former rivals. To these two facts is primarily due the further fact that for the first time there is really something that approaches a world civilization, a world movement. The spread of the European peoples since the days of Ferdinand the Catholic and Ivan the Terrible has been across every sea and over every continent. In places the conquests have been ethnic; that is, there has been a new wandering of the peoples, and new commonwealths have sprung up in which the people are entirely or mainly of European blood. This is what happened in the temperate and sub-tropical regions of the Western Hemisphere, in Australia, in portions of northern Asia and southern Africa. In other places the conquest has been purely political, the Europeans representing for the most part merely a small caste of soldiers and administrators, as in most of tropical Asia and Africa and in much of tropical America. Finally, here and there instances occur where there has been no conquest at all, but where an alien people is profoundly and radically changed by the mere impact of Western civilization. The most extraordinary instance of this, of course, is Japan, for Japan's growth and change during the last half-century has been in many ways the most striking phenomenon of all history. Intensely proud of her past history, intensely loyal to certain of her past traditions, she has yet with a single effort wrenched

herself free from all hampering ancient ties, and with a bound has taken her place among the leading civilized nations of mankind.

There are of course many grades between these different types of influence, but the net outcome of what has occurred during the last four centuries is that civilization of the European type now exercises a more or less profound effect over practically the entire world. There are nooks and corners to which it has not yet penetrated; but there is at present no large space of territory in which the general movement of civilized activity does not make itself more or less felt. This represents something wholly different from what has ever hitherto been seen. In the greatest days of Roman dominion the influence of Rome was felt over only a relatively small portion of the world's surface. Over much the larger part of the world the process of change and development was absolutely unaffected by anything that occurred in the Roman Empire; and those communities the play of whose influence was felt in action and reaction, and in inter-action, among themselves, were grouped immediately around the Mediterranean. Now, however, the whole world is bound together as never before; the bonds are sometimes those of hatred rather than love, but they are bonds nevertheless.

Frowning or hopeful, every man of leadership in any line of thought or effort must now look beyond the limits of his own country. The student of sociology may live in Berlin or St. Petersburg,

Rome or London, or he may live in Melbourne or San Francisco or Buenos Ayres; but in whatever city he lives, he must pay heed to the studies of men who live in each of the other cities. When in America we study labor problems and attempt to deal with subjects such as life insurance for wage-workers, we turn to see what you do here in Germany, and we also turn to see what the far-off commonwealth of New Zealand is doing. When a great German scientist is warring against the most dreaded enemies of mankind, creatures of infinitesimal size which the microscope reveals in his blood, he may spend his holidays of study in central Africa or in eastern Asia; and he must know what is accomplished in the laboratories of Tokyo, just as he must know the details of that practical application of science which has changed the Isthmus of Panama from a death-trap into what is almost a health resort. Every progressive in China is striving to introduce Western methods of education and administration, and hundreds of European and American books are now translated into Chinese. The influence of European governmental principles is strikingly illustrated by the fact that admiration for them has broken down the iron barriers of Moslem conservatism, so that their introduction has become a burning question in Turkey and Persia: while the very unrest, the impatience of European or American control, in India, Egypt, or the Philippines, takes the form of demanding that the government be assimilated more closely to what it is in England

or the United States. The deeds and works of any great statesman, the preachings of any great ethical, social, or political teacher, now find echoes in both hemispheres and in every continent. From a new discovery in science to a new method of combating or applying Socialism, there is no movement of note which can take place in any part of the globe without powerfully affecting masses of people in Europe, America, and Australia, in Asia and Africa. For weal or for woe, the peoples of mankind are knit together far closer than ever before.

So much for the geographical side of the expansion of modern civilization. But only a few of the many and intense activities of modern civilization have found their expression on this side. The movement has been just as striking in its conquest over natural forces, in its searching inquiry into and about the soul of things.

The conquest over Nature has included an extraordinary increase in every form of knowledge of the world we live in, and also an extraordinary increase in the power of utilizing the forces of Nature. In both directions the advance has been very great during the past four or five centuries, and in both directions it has gone on with ever-increasing rapidity during the last century. After the great age of Rome had passed, the boundaries of knowledge shrank, and in many cases it was not until well-nigh our own times that her domain was once again pushed beyond the ancient landmarks. About the year 150 A.D., Ptolemy, the geographer, published

his map of central Africa and the sources of the Nile, and this map was more accurate than any which we had as late as 1850 A.D. More was known of physical science, and more of the truth about the physical world was guessed at, in the days of Pliny, than was known or guessed until the modern movement began. The case was the same as regards military science. At the close of the Middle Ages the weapons were what they had always been—sword, shield, bow, spear; and any improvement in them was more than offset by the loss in knowledge of military organization, in the science of war, and in military leadership since the days of Hannibal and Cæsar. A hundred years ago, when this University was founded, the methods of transportation did not differ in the essentials from what they had been among the highly civilized nations of antiquity. Travellers and merchandise went by land in wheeled vehicles or on beasts of burden, and by sea in boats propelled by sails or by oars; and news was conveyed as it always had been conveyed. What improvements there had been had been in degree only and not in kind; and in some respects there had been retrogression rather than advance. There were many parts of Europe where the roads were certainly worse than the old Roman post-roads; and the Mediterranean Sea, for instance, was by no means as well policed as in the days of Trajan. Now steam and electricity have worked a complete revolution; and the resulting immensely increased ease of communication has in its turn completely

changed all the physical questions of human life. A voyage from Egypt to England was nearly as serious an affair in the eighteenth century as in the second; and the news communications between the two lands were not materially improved. A graduate of your University to-day can go to mid-Asia or mid-Africa with far less consciousness of performing a feat of note than would have been the case a hundred years ago with a student who visited Sicily and Andalusia. Moreover, the invention and use of machinery run by steam or electricity have worked a revolution in industry as great as the revolution in transportation; so that here again the difference between ancient and modern civilization is one not merely of degree but of kind. In many vital respects the huge modern city differs more from all preceding cities than any of these differed one from the other; and the giant factory town is of and by itself one of the most formidable problems of modern life.

Steam and electricity have given the race dominion over land and water such as it never had before; and now the conquest of the air is directly impending. As books preserve thought through time, so the telegraph and the telephone transmit it through the space they annihilate, and therefore minds are swayed one by another without regard to the limitations of space and time which formerly forced each community to work in comparative isolation. It is the same with the body as with the brain. The machinery of the factory and the farm

enormously multiplies bodily skill and vigor. Countless trained intelligences are at work to teach us how to avoid or counteract the effects of waste. Of course some of the agents in the modern scientific development of natural resources deal with resources of such a kind that their development means their destruction, so that exploitation on a grand scale means an intense rapidity of development purchased at the cost of a speedy exhaustion. The enormous and constantly increasing output of coal and iron necessarily means the approach of the day when our children's children, or their children's children, shall dwell in an ironless age—and, later on, in an age without coal—and will have to try to invent or develop new sources for the production of heat and use of energy. But as regards many another natural resource, scientific civilization teaches us how to preserve it through use. The best use of field and forest will leave them decade by decade, century by century, more fruitful; and we have barely begun to use the indestructible power that comes from harnessed water. The conquests of surgery, of medicine, the conquests in the entire field of hygiene and sanitation, have been literally marvelous; the advances in the past century or two have been over more ground than was covered during the entire previous history of the human race.

The advances in the realm of pure intellect have been of equal note, and they have been both intensive and extensive. Great virgin fields of learn-

ing and wisdom have been discovered by the few, and at the same time knowledge has spread among the many to a degree never dreamed of before. Old men among us have seen in their own generation the rise of the first rational science of the evolution of life. The astronomer and the chemist, the psychologist and the historian, and all their brethren in many different fields of wide endeavor, work with a training and knowledge and method which are in effect instruments of precision, differentiating their labors from the labors of their predecessors as the rifle is differentiated from the bow.

The play of new forces is as evident in the moral and spiritual world as in the world of the mind and the body. Forces for good and forces for evil are everywhere evident, each acting with a hundred or a thousand fold the intensity with which it acted in former ages. Over the whole earth the swing of the pendulum grows more and more rapid, the mainspring coils and spreads at a rate constantly quickening, the whole world movement is of constantly accelerating velocity.

In this movement there are signs of much that bodes ill. The machinery is so highly geared, the tension and strain are so great, the effort and the output have alike so increased, that there is cause to dread the ruin that would come from any great accident, from any breakdown, and also the ruin that may come from the mere wearing out of the machine itself. The only previous civilization with which our modern civilization can be in any way

compared is that period of Græco-Roman civilization extending, say, from the Athens of Themistocles to the Rome of Marcus Aurelius. Many of the forces and tendencies which were then at work are at work now. Knowledge, luxury, and refinement, wide material conquests, territorial administration on a vast scale, an increase in the mastery of mechanical appliances and in applied science—all these mark our civilization as they marked the wonderful civilization that flourished in the Mediterranean lands twenty centuries ago; and they preceded the downfall of the older civilization. Yet the differences are many, and some of them are quite as striking as the similarities. The single fact that the old civilization was based upon slavery shows the chasm that separates the two. Let me point out one further and very significant difference in the development of the two civilizations, a difference so obvious that it is astonishing that it has not been dwelt upon by men of letters.

One of the prime dangers of civilization has always been its tendency to cause the loss of the virile fighting virtues, of the fighting edge. When men get too comfortable and lead too luxurious lives there is always danger lest the softness eat like an acid into their manliness of fiber. The barbarian, because of the very conditions of his life, is forced to keep and develop certain hardy qualities which the man of civilization tends to lose, whether he be clerk, factory hand, merchant, or even a certain type of farmer. Now I will not assert that in modern

civilized society these tendencies have been wholly overcome; but there has been a much more successful effort to overcome them than was the case in the early civilizations. This is curiously shown by the military history of the Græco-Roman period as compared with the history of the last four or five centuries here in Europe and among nations of European descent. In the Grecian and Roman military history the change was steadily from a citizen army to an army of mercenaries. In the days of the early greatness of Athens, Thebes, and Sparta, in the days when the Roman Republic conquered what world it knew, the armies were filled with citizen soldiers. But gradually the citizens refused to serve in the armies, or became unable to render good service. The Greek states described by Polybius, with but few exceptions, hired others to do their fighting for them. The Romans of the days of Augustus had utterly ceased to furnish any cavalry, and were rapidly ceasing to furnish any infantry, to the legions and cohorts. When the civilization came to an end, there were no longer citizens in the ranks of the soldiers. The change from the citizen army to the army of mercenaries had been completed.

Now, the exact reverse has been the case with us in modern times. A few centuries ago the mercenary soldier was the principal figure in most armies, and in great numbers of cases the mercenary soldier was an alien. In the wars of religion in France, in the Thirty Years' War in Germany, in

the wars that immediately thereafter marked the beginning of the break-up of the great Polish Kingdom, the regiments and brigades of foreign soldiers formed a striking and leading feature in every army. Too often the men of the country in which the fighting took place played merely the ignoble part of victims, the burghers and peasants appearing in but limited numbers in the mercenary armies by which they were plundered. Gradually this has all changed, until now practically every army is a citizen army, and the mercenary has almost disappeared, while the army exists on a vaster scale than ever before in history. This is so among the military monarchies of Europe. In our own Civil War of the United States the same thing occurred, peaceful people as we are. At that time more than two generations had passed since the War of Independence. During the whole of that period the people had been engaged in no life-and-death struggle; and yet, when the Civil War broke out, and after some costly and bitter lessons at the beginning, the fighting spirit of the people was shown to better advantage than ever before. The war was peculiarly a war for a principle, a war waged by each side for an ideal, and while faults and shortcomings were plentiful among the combatants, there was comparatively little sordidness of motive or conduct. In such a giant struggle, where across the warp of so many interests is shot the woof of so many purposes, dark strands and bright, strands somber and brilliant, are always intertwined; inevitably there

was corruption here and there in the Civil War; but all the leaders on both sides, and the great majority of the enormous masses of fighting men, wholly disregarded, and were wholly uninfluenced by, pecuniary considerations. There were of course foreigners who came over to serve as soldiers of fortune for money or for love of adventure; but the foreign-born citizens served in much the same proportion as, and from the same motives as, the native-born. Taken as a whole, it was, even more than the Revolutionary War, a true citizens' fight, and the armies of Grant and Lee were as emphatically citizen armies as Athenian, Theban, or Spartan armies in the great age of Greece, or as a Roman army in the days of the Republic.

Another striking contrast in the course of modern civilization as compared with the later stages of the Græco-Roman or classic civilization is to be found in the relations of wealth and politics. In classic times, as the civilization advanced toward its zenith, politics became a recognized means of accumulating great wealth. Cæsar was again and again on the verge of bankruptcy; he spent an enormous fortune; and he recouped himself by the money which he made out of his political-military career. Augustus established Imperial Rome on firm foundations by the use he made of the huge fortune he had acquired by plunder. What a contrast is offered by the careers of Washington and Lincoln! There were a few exceptions in ancient days; but the immense majority of the Greeks and the

Romans, as their civilizations culminated, accepted money-making on a large scale as one of the incidents of a successful public career. Now all of this is in sharp contrast to what has happened within the last two or three centuries. During this time there has been a steady growth away from the theory that money-making is permissible in an honorable public career. In this respect the standard has been constantly elevated, and things which statesmen had no hesitation in doing three centuries or two centuries ago, and which did not seriously hurt a public career even a century ago, are now utterly impossible. Wealthy men still exercise a large, and sometimes an improper, influence in politics, but it is apt to be an indirect influence; and in the advanced states the mere suspicion that the wealth of public men is obtained or added to as an incident of their public careers will bar them from public life. Speaking generally, wealth may very greatly influence modern political life, but it is not acquired in political life. The colonial administrators, German or American, French or English, of this generation lead careers which, as compared with the careers of other men of like ability, show too little rather than too much regard for money-making; and literally a world scandal would be caused by conduct which a Roman proconsul would have regarded as moderate, and which would not have been especially uncommon even in the administration of England a century and a half ago. On the whole, the great statesmen of the last few generations

have been either men of moderate means, or, if men of wealth, men whose wealth was diminished rather than increased by their public services.

I have dwelt on these points merely because it is well to emphasize in the most emphatic fashion the fact that in many respects there is a complete lack of analogy between the civilization of to-day and the only other civilization in any way comparable to it, that of the ancient Græco-Roman lands. There are, of course, many points in which the analogy is close, and in some of these points the resemblances are as ominous as they are striking. But most striking of all is the fact that in point of physical extent, of wide diversity of interest, and of extreme velocity of movement, the present civilization can be compared to nothing that has ever gone before. It is now literally a world movement, and the movement is growing ever more rapid and is ever reaching into new fields. Any considerable influence exerted at one point is certain to be felt with greater or less effect at almost every other point. Every path of activity open to the human intellect is followed with an eagerness and success never hitherto dreamed of. We have established complete liberty of conscience, and, in consequence, a complete liberty for mental activity. All free and daring souls have before them a well-nigh limitless opening for endeavor of any kind.

Hitherto every civilization that has arisen has been able to develop only a comparatively few activities; that is, its field of endeavor has been lim-

ited in kind as well as in locality. There have, of course, been great movements, but they were of practically only one form of activity; and although usually this set in motion other kinds of activities, such was not always the case. The great religious movements have been the pre-eminent examples of this type. But they are not the only ones. Such peoples as the Mongols and the Phœnicians, at almost opposite poles of cultivation, have represented movements in which one element, military or commercial, so overshadowed all other elements that the movement died out chiefly because it was one-sided. The extraordinary outburst of activity among the Mongols of the thirteenth century was almost purely a military movement, without even any great administrative side; and it was therefore well-nigh purely a movement of destruction. The individual prowess and hardihood of the Mongols, and the perfection of their military organization, rendered their armies incomparably superior to those of any European, or any other Asiatic, power of that day. They conquered from the Yellow Sea to the Persian Gulf and the Adriatic; they seized the Imperial throne of China; they slew the Caliph in Bagdad; they founded dynasties in India. The fanaticism of Christianity and the fanaticism of Mohammedanism were alike powerless against them. The valor of the bravest fighting men in Europe was impotent to check them. They trampled Russia into bloody mire beneath the hoofs of their horses; they drew red furrows of destruction

across Poland and Hungary; they overthrew with ease any force from western Europe that dared encounter them. Yet they had no root of permanence; their work was mere evil while it lasted, and it did not last long; and when they vanished they left hardly a trace behind them. So the extraordinary Phœnician civilization was almost purely a mercantile, a business civilization, and though it left an impress on the life that came after, this impress was faint indeed compared to that left, for instance, by the Greeks with their many-sided development. Yet the Greek civilization itself fell, because this many-sided development became too exclusively one of intellect, at the expense of character, at the expense of the fundamental qualities which fit men to govern both themselves and others. When the Greek lost the sterner virtues, when his soldiers lost the fighting edge, and his statesmen grew corrupt, while the people became a faction-torn and pleasure-loving rabble, then the doom of Greece was at hand, and not all their cultivation, their intellectual brilliancy, their artistic development, their adroitness in speculative science, could save the Hellenic peoples as they bowed before the sword of the iron Roman.

What is the lesson to us to-day? Are we to go the way of the older civilizations? The immense increase in the area of civilized activity to-day, so that it is nearly coterminous with the world's surface; the immense increase in the multitudinous variety of its activities; the immense increase in

the velocity of the world movement—are all these to mean merely that the crash will be all the more complete and terrible when it comes? We cannot be certain that the answer will be in the negative; but of this we can be certain, that we shall not go down in ruin unless we deserve and earn our end. There is no necessity for us to fall; we can hew out our destiny for ourselves, if only we have the wit and the courage and the honesty.

Personally, I do not believe that our civilization will fall. I think that on the whole we have grown better and not worse. I think that on the whole the future holds more for us than even the great past has held. But, assuredly, the dreams of golden glory in the future will not come true unless, high of heart and strong of hand, by our own mighty deeds we make them come true. We cannot afford to develop any one set of qualities, any one set of activities, at the cost of seeing others, equally necessary, atrophied. Neither the military efficiency of the Mongol, the extraordinary business ability of the Phœnician, nor the subtle and polished intellect of the Greek availed to avert destruction.

We, the men of to-day and of the future, need many qualities if we are to do our work well. We need, first of all and most important of all, the qualities which stand at the base of individual, of family life, the fundamental and essential qualities—the homely, every-day, all-important virtues. If the average man will not work, if he has not in him the will and the power to be a good husband

and father; if the average woman is not a good housewife, a good mother of many healthy children, then the State will topple, will go down, no matter what may be its brilliance of artistic development or material achievement. But these homely qualities are not enough. There must, in addition, be that power of organization, that power of working in common for a common end, which the German people have shown in such signal fashion during the last half century. Moreover, the things of the spirit are even more important than the things of the body. We can well do without the hard intolerance and arid intellectual barrenness of what was worst in the theological systems of the past, but there has never been greater need of a high and fine religious spirit than at the present time. So, while we can laugh good-humoredly at some of the pretensions of modern philosophy in its various branches, it would be worse than folly on our part to ignore our need of intellectual leadership. Your own great Frederick once said that if he wished to punish a province he would leave it to be governed by philosophers; the sneer had in it an element of justice; and yet no one better than the great Frederick knew the value of philosophers, the value of men of science, men of letters, men of art. It would be a bad thing indeed to accept Tolstoy as a guide in social and moral matters; but it would also be a bad thing not to have Tolstoy, not to profit by the lofty side of his teachings. There are plenty of scientific men whose hard arro-

gance, whose cynical materialism, whose dogmatic intolerance, put them on a level with the bigoted mediæval ecclesiasticism which they denounce. Yet our debt to scientific men is incalculable, and our civilization of to-day would have reft from it all that which most highly distinguishes it if the work of the great masters of science during the past four centuries were now undone or forgotten. Never has philanthropy, humanitarianism, seen such development as now; and though we must all beware of the folly, and the viciousness no worse than folly, which marks the believer in the perfectibility of man when his heart runs away with his head, or when vanity usurps the place of conscience, yet we must remember also that it is only by working along the lines laid down by the philanthropists, by the lovers of mankind, that we can be sure of lifting our civilization to a higher and more permanent plane of well-being than was ever attained by any preceding civilization. Unjust war is to be abhorred; but woe to the nation that does not make ready to hold its own in time of need against all who would harm it; and woe thrice over to the nation in which the average man loses the fighting edge, loses the power to serve as a soldier if the day of need should arise.

It is no impossible dream to build up a civilization in which morality, ethical development, and a true feeling of brotherhood shall all alike be divorced from false sentimentality, and from the rancorous and evil passions which, curiously enough, so often

accompany professions of sentimental attachment to the rights of man; in which a high material development in the things of the body shall be achieved without subordination of the things of the soul; in which there shall be a genuine desire for peace and justice without loss of those virile qualities without which no love of peace or justice shall avail any race; in which the fullest development of scientific research, the great distinguishing feature of our present civilization, shall yet not imply a belief that intellect can ever take the place of character—for, from the standpoint of the nation as of the individual, it is character that is the one vital possession.

Finally this world movement of civilization, this movement which is now felt throbbing in every corner of the globe, should bind the nations of the world together while yet leaving unimpaired that love of country in the individual citizen which in the present stage of the world's progress is essential to the world's well-being. You, my hearers, and I who speak to you, belong to different nations. Under modern conditions the books we read, the news sent by telegraph to our newspapers, the strangers we meet, half of the things we hear and do each day, all tend to bring us into touch with other peoples. Each people can do justice to itself only if it does justice to others; but each people can do its part in the world movement for all only if it first does its duty within its own household. The good citizen must be a good citizen of his own

country first before he can with advantage be a citizen of the world at large. I wish you well. I believe in you and your future. I admire and wonder at the extraordinary greatness and variety of your achievements in so many and such widely different fields; and my admiration and regard are all the greater, and not the less, because I am so profound a believer in the institutions and the people of my own land.

BIOLOGICAL ANALOGIES IN HISTORY

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY, ENGLAND, JUNE 7, 1910

An American who, in response to such an invitation as I have received, speaks in this University of ancient renown cannot but feel with peculiar vividness the interest and charm of his surroundings, fraught as they are with a thousand associations. Your great universities, and all the memories that make them great, are living realities in the minds of scores of thousands of men who have never seen them and who dwell across the seas in other lands. Moreover, these associations are no stronger in the men of English stock than in those who are not. My people have been for eight generations in America; but in one thing I am like the Americans of to-morrow rather than like many of the Americans of to-day, for I have in my veins the blood of men who came from many different European races. The ethnic make-up of our people

is slowly changing, so that constantly the race tends to become more and more akin to that of those Americans who, like myself, are of the old stock but not mainly of English stock. Yet I think that, as time goes by, mutual respect, understanding, and sympathy among the English-speaking peoples grow greater and not less. Any of my ancestors, Hollander or Huguenot, Scotchman or Irishman, who had come to Oxford in the "spacious days of great Elizabeth" would have felt far more alien than I, their descendant, now feel. Common heirship in the things of the spirit makes a closer bond than common heirship in the things of the body.

More than ever before in the world's history, we of to-day seek to penetrate the causes of the mysteries that surround not only mankind but all life. We search, we peer, we see things dimly; here and there we get a ray of clear vision as we look before and after. We study the tremendous procession of the ages, from the immemorial past when in "cramp elf and saurian forms" the creative forces "swathed their too-much power," down to the yesterday, a few score thousand years distant only, when the history of man became the overwhelming fact in the history of life on this planet; and, studying, we see strange analogies in the phenomena of life and death, of birth, growth, and change, between those physical groups of animal life which we designate as species, forms, races, and the highly complex

and composite entities which rise before our minds when we speak of nations and civilizations.

It is this study which has given science its present-day prominence. In the world of intellect, doubtless the most marked features in the history of the past century have been the extraordinary advances in scientific knowledge and investigation and in the position held by the men of science with reference to those engaged in other pursuits. I am not now speaking of applied science—of the science, for instance, which, having revolutionized transportation on the earth and the water, is now on the brink of carrying it into the air; of the science that finds its expression in such extraordinary achievements as the telephone and the telegraph; of the sciences which have so accelerated the velocity of movement in social and industrial conditions—for the changes in the mechanical appliances of ordinary life during the last three generations have been greater than in all the preceding generations since history dawned. I speak of the science which has no more direct bearing upon the affairs of our every-day life than literature or music, painting or sculpture, poetry or history. A hundred years ago the ordinary man of cultivation had to know something of these last subjects; but the probabilities were rather against his having any but the most superficial scientific knowledge. At present all this has changed, thanks to the interest taken in scientific discoveries, the large circulation of scientific books, and the rapidity with which ideas originating

among students of the most advanced and abstruse sciences become, at least partially, domiciled in the popular mind.

Another feature of the change, of the growth in the position of science in the eyes of every one, and of the greatly increased respect naturally resulting for scientific methods, has been a certain tendency among scientific students to encroach on other fields. This is particularly true of the field of historical study. Not only have scientific men insisted upon the necessity of considering the history of man, especially in its early stages, in connection with what biology shows to be the history of life, but, furthermore, there has arisen a demand that history shall itself be treated as a science. Both positions are in their essence right; but as regards each position the more arrogant among the invaders of the new realm of knowledge take an attitude to which it is not necessary to assent. As regards the latter of the two positions, that which would treat history henceforth merely as one branch of scientific study, we must of course cordially agree that accuracy in recording facts and appreciation of their relative worth and interrelationship are just as necessary in historical study as in any other kind of study. The fact that a book, though interesting, is untrue, of course removes it at once from the category of history, however much it may still deserve to retain a place in the always desirable group of volumes which deal with entertaining fiction. But the converse also holds, at least to the extent of permitting

us to insist upon what would seem to be the elementary fact that a book which is written to be read should be readable. This rather obvious truth seems to have been forgotten by some of the more zealous scientific historians, who apparently hold that the worth of a historical book is directly in proportion to the impossibility of reading it, save as a painful duty. Now I am willing that history shall be treated as a branch of science, but only on condition that it also remains a branch of literature; and, furthermore, I believe that as the field of science encroaches on the field of literature, there should be a corresponding encroachment of literature upon science; and I hold that one of the great needs, which can only be met by very able men whose culture is broad enough to include literature as well as science, is the need of books for scientific laymen. We need a literature of science which shall be readable. So far from doing away with the school of great historians, the school of Polybius and Tacitus, Gibbon and Macaulay, we need merely that the future writers of history, without losing the qualities which have made those men great, shall also utilize the new facts and new methods which science has put at their disposal. Dryness is not in itself a measure of value. No "scientific" treatise about St. Louis will displace Joinville, for the very reason that Joinville's place is in both history and literature; no minute study of the Napoleonic wars will teach us more than Marbot—and Marbot is as interesting as Walter Scott. Moreover, certain at

least of the branches of science should likewise be treated by masters in the art of presentment, so that the layman interested in science, no less than the layman interested in history, shall have on his shelves classics which can be read. Whether this wish be or be not capable of realization, it assuredly remains true that the great historian of the future must essentially represent the ideal striven after by the great historians of the past. The industrious collector of facts occupies an honorable but not an exalted position, and the scientific historian who produces books which are not literature must rest content with the honor, substantial but not of the highest type, that belongs to him who gathers material which some time some great master shall arise to use.

Yet, while freely conceding all that can be said of the masters of literature, we must insist upon the historian of mankind working in the scientific spirit, and using the treasure-houses of science. He who would fully treat of man must know at least something of biology, of the science that treats of living, breathing things; and especially of that science of evolution which is inseparably connected with the great name of Darwin. Of course there is no exact parallelism between the birth, growth, and death of species in the animal world and the birth, growth, and death of societies in the world of man. Yet there is a certain parallelism. There are strange analogies; it may be that there are homologies.

How far the resemblances between the two sets

of phenomena are more than accidental, how far biology can be used as an aid in the interpretation of human history, we cannot at present say. The historian should never forget, what the highest type of scientific man is always teaching us to remember, that willingness to admit ignorance is a prime factor in developing wisdom out of knowledge. Wisdom is advanced by research which enables us to add to knowledge; and, moreover, the way for wisdom is made ready when men who record facts of vast but unknown import, when asked to explain their full significance, are willing frankly to answer that they do not know. The research which enables us to add to the sum of complete knowledge stands first; but second only stands the research which, while enabling us clearly to pose the problem, also requires us to say that with our present knowledge we can offer no complete solution.

Let me illustrate what I mean by an instance or two taken from one of the most fascinating branches of world history, the history of the higher forms of life, of mammalian life, on this globe.

Geologists and astronomers are not agreed as to the length of time necessary for the changes that have taken place. At any rate, many hundreds of thousands of years, some millions of years, have passed by since in the eocene, at the beginning of the tertiary period, we find the traces of an abundant, varied, and highly developed mammalian life on the land masses out of which have grown the continents as we see them to-day. The ages swept

by, until, with the advent of man substantially in the physical shape in which we now know him, we also find a mammalian fauna not essentially different in kind, though widely differing in distribution, from that of the present day. Throughout this immense period form succeeds form, type succeeds type, in obedience to laws of evolution, of progress and retrogression, of development and death, which we as yet understand only in the most imperfect manner. As knowledge increases, our wisdom is often turned into foolishness, and many of the phenomena of evolution which seemed clearly explicable to the learned master of science who founded these lectures, to us nowadays seem far less satisfactorily explained. The scientific men of most note now differ widely in their estimates of the relative parts played in evolution by natural selection, by mutation, by the inheritance of acquired characteristics; and we study their writings with a growing impression that there are forces at work which our blinded eyes wholly fail to apprehend; and where this is the case, the part of wisdom is to say that we believe we have such and such partial explanations, but that we are not warranted in saying that we have the whole explanation. In tracing the history of the development of faunal life during this period, the age of mammals, there are some facts which are clearly established, some great and sweeping changes for which we can ascribe with certainty a reason. There are other facts as to which we grope in the dark, and vast changes,

vast catastrophes, of which we can give no adequate explanation.

Before illustrating these types, let us settle one or two matters of terminology. In the changes, the development and extinction, of species we must remember that such expressions as "a new species," or as "a species becoming extinct," are each commonly and indiscriminately used to express totally different and opposite meanings. Of course the "new" species is not new in the sense that its ancestors appeared later on the globe's surface than those of any old species tottering to extinction. Phylogenetically, each animal now living must necessarily trace its ancestral descent back through countless generations, through æons of time, to the early stages of the appearance of life on the globe. All that we mean by a "new" species is that, from some cause or set of causes, one of these ancestral stems slowly or suddenly develops into a form unlike any that has preceded it; so that while in one form of life the ancestral type is continuously repeated and the old species continues to exist, in another form of life there is a deviation from the ancestral type and a new species appears.

Similarly, "extinction of species" is a term which has two entirely different meanings. The type may become extinct by dying out and leaving no descendants. Or it may die out because, as the generations go by, there is change, slow or swift, until a new form is produced. Thus in one case the line of life comes to an end. In the other case

it changes into something different. The huge titanothere and the small three-toed horse both existed at what may roughly be called the same period of the world's history, back in the middle of the mammalian age. Both are extinct in the same sense that each has completely disappeared, and that nothing like either is to be found in the world to-day. But whereas all the individual titanotheres finally died out, leaving no descendants, a number of the three-toed horses did leave descendants, and these descendants, constantly changing as the ages went by, finally developed into the highly specialized one-toed horses, asses, and zebras of to-day.

The analogy between the facts thus indicated and certain facts in the development of human societies is striking. A further analogy is supplied by a very curious tendency, often visible in cases of intense and extreme specialization. When an animal form becomes highly specialized, the type at first, because of its specialization, triumphs over its allied rivals and its enemies, and attains a great development; until in many cases the specialization becomes so extreme that, from some cause unknown to us, or at which we merely guess, it disappears. The new species which mark a new era commonly come from the less specialized types, the less distinctive, dominant, and striking types, of the preceding era.

When dealing with the changes, cataclysmic or otherwise, which divide one period of palæontological history from another, we can sometimes assign

causes, and again we cannot even guess at them. In the case of single species or of faunas of very restricted localities the explanation is often self-evident. A comparatively slight change in the amount of moisture in the climate, with the attendant change in vegetation, might readily mean the destruction of a group of huge herbivores with a bodily size such that they needed a vast quantity of food and with teeth so weak or so peculiar that but one or two kinds of plants could furnish this food. Again, we now know that the most deadly foes of the higher forms of life are various lower forms of life, such as insects or microscopic creatures conveyed into the blood by insects. There are districts in South America where many large animals, wild and domestic, cannot live because of the presence either of certain ticks or of certain baleful flies. In Africa there is a terrible genus of poison fly, each species acting as the host of microscopic creatures which are deadly to certain of the higher vertebrates. One of these species, though harmless to man, is fatal to all domestic animals, and this although harmless to the closely related wild kinsfolk of these animals. Another is fatal to man himself, being the cause of the "sleeping sickness" which in many large districts has killed out the entire population. Of course the development or the extension of the range of any such insects, and any one of many other causes which we see actually at work around us, would readily account for the destruction of some given species or

even for the destruction of several species in a limited area of country.

When whole faunal groups die out, over large areas, the question is different, and may or may not be susceptible of explanation with the knowledge we actually possess. In the old arctogeal continent, for instance, in what is now Europe, Asia, and North America, the glacial period made a complete but of course explicable change in the faunal life of the region. At one time the continent held a rich and varied fauna. Then a period of great cold supervened, and a different fauna succeeded the first. The explanation of the change is obvious.

But in many other cases we cannot so much as hazard a guess as to why a given change occurred. One of the most striking instances of these inexplicable changes is that afforded by the history of South America toward the close of the tertiary period. For ages South America had been an island by itself, cut off from North America at the very time that the latter was at least occasionally in land communication with Asia. During this time a very peculiar fauna grew up in South America, some of the types resembling nothing now existing, while others are recognizable as ancestral forms of the ant-eaters, sloths, and armadillos of to-day. It was a peculiar and diversified mammalian fauna of, on the whole, rather small species, and without any representatives of the animals with which man has been most familiar during his career on this earth.

Towards the end of the tertiary there was an

upheaval of land between this old South American Island and North America, near what is now the Isthmus of Panama, thereby making a bridge across which the teeming animal life of the northern continent had access to this queer southern continent. There followed an inrush of huge, or swift, or formidable creatures which had attained their development in the fierce competition of the arctogeal realm. Elephants, camels, horses, tapirs, swine, saber-toothed tigers, big cats, wolves, bears, deer, crowded into South America, warring each against the other incomers and against the old long-existing forms. A riot of life followed. Not only was the character of the South American fauna totally changed by the invasion of these creatures from the north, which soon swarmed over the continent, but it was also changed through the development wrought in the old inhabitants by the severe competition to which they were exposed. Many of the smaller or less capable types died out. Others developed enormous bulk or complete armor protection, and thereby saved themselves from the new beasts. In consequence, South America soon became populated with various new species of mastodons, saber-toothed tigers, camels, horses, deer, cats, wolves, hooved creatures of strange shapes and some of them of giant size, all of these being descended from the immigrant types; and side by side with them there grew up large autochthonous ungulates, giant ground sloths well-nigh as large as elephants, and armored creatures

as bulky as an ox but structurally of the armadillo or ant-eater type; and some of these latter not only held their own, but actually in their turn wandered north over the isthmus and invaded North America. A fauna as varied as that of Africa to-day, as abundant in species and individuals, even more noteworthy because of its huge size or odd type and because of the terrific prowess of the more formidable flesh-eaters, was thus developed in South America, and flourished for a period which human history would call very long indeed, but which geologically was short.

Then, for no reason that we can assign, destruction fell on this fauna. All the great and terrible creatures died out, the same fate befalling the changed representatives of the old autochthonous fauna and the descendants of the migrants that had come down from the north. Ground sloth and glyptodon, saber-tooth, horse and mastodon, and all the associated animals of large size, vanished, and South America, though still retaining its connection with North America, once again became a land with a mammalian life small and weak compared to that of North America and the Old World. Its fauna is now marked, for instance, by the presence of medium-sized deer and cats, fox-like wolves, and small camel-like creatures, as well as by the presence of small armadillos, sloths, and ant-eaters. In other words, it includes diminutive representatives of the giants of the preceding era, both of the giants among the older forms of mammalia and of the

giants among the new and intrusive kinds. The change was widespread and extraordinary, and with our present means of information it is wholly inexplicable. There was no ice age, and it is hard to imagine any cause which would account for the extinction of so many species of huge or moderate size, while smaller representatives, and here and there medium-sized representatives, of many of them were left.

Now, as to all of these phenomena in the evolution of species, there are, if not homologies, at least certain analogies, in the history of human societies, in the history of the rise to prominence, of the development and change, of the temporary dominance, and death or transformation, of the groups of varying kind which form races or nations. Here, as in biology, it is necessary to keep in mind that we use each of the words "birth" and "death," "youth" and "age," often very loosely, and sometimes as denoting either one or two totally different conceptions. Of course, in one sense there is no such thing as an "old" or a "young" nation, any more than there is an "old" or "young" family. Phylogenetically, the line of ancestral descent must be of exactly the same length for every existing individual, and for every group of individuals, whether forming a family or a nation. All that can properly be meant by the terms "new" and "young" is that in a given line of descent there has suddenly come a period of rapid change. This change may arise either from a new development or transfor-

mation of the old elements, or else from a new grouping of these elements with other and varied elements; so that the words "new" nation or "young" nation may have a real difference of significance in one case from what they have in another.

As in biology, so in human history, a new form may result from the specialization of a long-existing and hitherto very slowly changing generalized or non-specialized form; as, for instance, when a barbaric race from a variety of causes suddenly develops a more complex cultivation and civilization. This is what occurred, for instance, in western Europe during the centuries of the Teutonic and later the Scandinavian ethnic overflows from the north. All the modern countries of western Europe are descended from the states created by these northern invaders. When first created they could be called "new" or "young" states in the sense that part or all of the people composing them were descended from races that hitherto had not been civilized at all, and that therefore for the first time entered on the career of civilized communities. In the southern part of western Europe the new states thus formed consisted in bulk of the inhabitants already in the land under the Roman Empire; and it was here that the new kingdoms first took shape. Through a reflex action their influence then extended back into the cold forests from which the invaders had come, and Germany and Scandinavia witnessed the rise of communities with essentially

the same civilization as their southern neighbors; though in those communities, unlike the southern communities, there was no infusion of new blood, and in each case the new civilized nation which gradually developed was composed entirely of members of the same race which in the same region had for ages lived the life of a slowly changing barbarism. The same was true of the Slavs and the Slavonized Finns of eastern Europe, when an infiltration of Scandinavian leaders from the north and an infiltration of Byzantine culture from the south joined to produce the changes which have gradually, out of the little Slav communities of the forest and the steppe, formed the mighty Russian Empire of to-day.

Again, the new form may represent merely a splitting off from a long-established, highly developed and specialized nation. In this case the nation is usually spoken of as a "young," and is correctly spoken of as a "new," nation; but the term should always be used with a clear sense of the difference between what is described in such case and what is described by the same term in speaking of a civilized nation just developed from a barbarism. Carthage and Syracuse were new cities compared with Tyre and Corinth; but the Greek or Phœnician race was in every sense of the word as old in the new city as in the old city. So, nowadays, Victoria or Manitoba is a new community compared with England or Scotland; but the ancestral type of civilization and culture is as old in one case as in

the other. I of course do not mean for a moment that great changes are not produced by the mere fact that the old civilized race is suddenly placed in surroundings where it has again to go through the work of taming the wilderness, a work finished many centuries before in the original home of the race; I merely mean that the ancestral history is the same in each case. We can rightly use the phrase "a new people" in speaking of Canadians or Australians, Americans or Afrikanders. But we use it in an entirely different sense from that in which we use it when speaking of such communities as those founded by the Northmen and their descendants during that period of astonishing growth which saw the descendants of the Norse sea-thieves conquer and transform Normandy, Sicily, and the British Islands; we use it in an entirely different sense from that in which we use it when speaking of the new states that grew up around Warsaw, Kief, Novgorod, and Moscow, as the wild savages of the steppes and the marshy forests struggled haltingly and stumblingly upward to become builders of cities and to form stable governments. The kingdoms of Charlemagne and Alfred were "new," compared with the empire on the Bosphorus; they were also in every way different; their lines of ancestral descent had nothing in common with those of the polyglot realm which paid tribute to the Cæsars of Byzantium; their social problems and aftertime history were totally different. This is not true of those "new" nations which spring direct

from old nations. Brazil, the Argentine, the United States, are all "new" nations, compared with the nations of Europe; but, with whatever changes in detail, their civilization is nevertheless of the general European type, as shown in Portugal, Spain, and England. The differences between these "new" American and these "old" European nations are not as great as those which separate the "new" nations one from another and the "old" nations one from another. There are in each case very real differences between the new and the old nation—differences both for good and for evil; but in each case there is the same ancestral history to reckon with, the same type of civilization, with its attendant benefits and shortcomings; and, after the pioneer stages are passed, the problems to be solved, in spite of superficial differences, are in their essence the same; they are those that confront all civilized peoples, not those that confront peoples struggling from barbarism into civilization.

So, when we speak of the "death" of a tribe, a nation, or a civilization, the term may be used for either one or two totally different processes; the analogy with what occurs in biological history being complete. Certain tribes of savages, the Tasmanians, for instance, and various little clans of American Indians, have within the last century or two completely died out; all of the individuals have perished, leaving no descendants, and the blood has disappeared. Certain other tribes of Indians have as tribes disappeared or are now disappearing; but

their blood remains, being absorbed into the veins of the white intruders, or of the black men introduced by these white intruders; so that in reality they are merely being transformed into something absolutely different from what they were. In the United States, in the new State of Oklahoma, the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Delawares, and other tribes are in process of absorption into the mass of the white population; when the State was admitted, a couple of years ago, one of the two Senators and three of the five Representatives in Congress were partly of Indian blood. In but a few years these Indian tribes will have disappeared as completely as those that have actually died out; but the disappearance will be by absorption and transformation into the mass of the American population.

A like wide diversity in fact may be covered in the statement that a civilization has "died out." The nationality and culture of the wonderful city-builders of the lower Mesopotamian Plain have completely disappeared, and though doubtless certain influences dating therefrom are still at work, they are in such changed and hidden form as to be unrecognizable. But the disappearance of the Roman Empire was of no such character. There was complete change, far-reaching transformation, and at one period a violent dislocation; but it would not be correct to speak either of the blood or the culture of old Rome as extinct. We are not yet in a position to dogmatize as to the permanence or evanescence

of the various strains of blood that go to make up every civilized nationality; but it is reasonably certain that the blood of the old Roman still flows through the veins of the modern Italian; and though there has been much intermixture, from many different foreign sources—from foreign conquerors and from foreign slaves—yet it is probable that the Italian type of to-day finds its dominant ancestral type in the ancient Latin. As for the culture, the civilization of Rome, this is even more true. It has suffered a complete transformation, partly by natural growth, partly by absorption of totally alien elements, such as a Semitic religion, and certain Teutonic governmental and social customs; but the process was not one of extinction, but one of growth and transformation, both from within and by the accretion of outside elements. In France and Spain the inheritance of Latin blood is small; but the Roman culture which was forced on these countries has been tenaciously retained by them throughout all their subsequent ethnical and political changes, as the basis on which their civilizations have been built. Moreover, the permanent spreading of Roman influence was not limited to Europe. It has extended to and over half of that new world which was not even dreamed of during the thousand years of brilliant life between the birth and the death of Pagan Rome. This new world was discovered by one Italian, and its mainland first reached and named by another; and in it, over a territory many times the size of Trajan's empire,

the Spanish, French, and Portuguese adventurers founded, beside the St. Lawrence and the Amazon, along the flanks of the Andes and in the shadow of the snow-capped volcanoes of Mexico, from the Rio Grande to the Straits of Magellan, communities, now flourishing and growing apace, which in speech and culture, and even as regards one strain in their blood, are the lineal heirs of the ancient Latin civilization. When we speak of the disappearance, the passing away, of ancient Babylon or Nineveh, and of ancient Rome, we are using the same terms to describe totally different phenomena.

The anthropologist and the historian of to-day realize much more clearly than their predecessors of a couple of generations back how artificial most great nationalities are, and how loose is the terminology usually employed to describe them. There is an element of unconscious and rather pathetic humor in the simplicity of half a century ago which spoke of the Aryan and the Teuton with reverential admiration, as if the words denoted, not merely something definite, but something ethnologically sacred; the writers having much the same pride and faith in their own and their fellow-countrymen's purity of descent from these imaginary Aryan or Teutonic ancestors that was felt a few generations earlier by the various noble families who traced their lineage direct to Odin, Æneas, or Noah. Nowadays, of course, all students recognize that there may not be, and often is not, the slightest connection between kinship in blood and kinship in

tongue. In America we find three races, white, red, and black, and three tongues, English, French, and Spanish, mingled in such a way that the lines of cleavage of race continually run at right angles to the lines of cleavage of speech; there being communities practically of pure blood of each race found speaking each language. Aryan and Teutonic are terms having very definite linguistic meanings; but whether they have any such ethnical meanings as were formerly attributed to them is so doubtful that we cannot even be sure whether the ancestors of most of those we call Teutons originally spoke an Aryan tongue at all. The term Celtic, again, is perfectly clear when used linguistically; but when used to describe a race it means almost nothing until we find out which one of several totally different terminologies the writer or speaker is adopting. If, for instance, it is used to designate the short-headed, medium-sized type common throughout Middle Europe, from east to west, it denotes something entirely different from what is meant when the name is applied to the tall, yellow-haired opponents of the Romans and the later Greeks; while if used to designate any modern nationality, it becomes about as loose and meaningless as the term Anglo-Saxon itself.

Most of the great societies which have developed a high civilization and have played a dominant part in the world have been—and are—artificial, not merely in social structure, but in the sense of including totally different race types. A great nation

rarely belongs to any one race, though its citizens generally have one essentially national speech. Yet the curious fact remains that these great artificial societies acquire such unity that in each one all the parts feel a subtle sympathy, and move or cease to move, go forward or go back, all together, in response to some stir or throbbing, very powerful, and yet not to be discerned by our senses. National unity is far more apt than race unity to be a fact to reckon with; until indeed we come to race differences as fundamental as those which divide from one another the half-dozen great ethnic divisions of mankind when they became so important that differences of nationality, speech, and creed sink into littleness.

An ethnological map of Europe in which the peoples were divided according to their physical and racial characteristics, such as stature, coloration, and shape of head, would bear no resemblance whatever to a map giving the political divisions, the nationalities, of Europe; while, on the contrary, a linguistic map would show a general correspondence between speech and nationality. The northern Frenchman is in blood and physical type more nearly allied to his German-speaking neighbor than to the Frenchman of the Mediterranean seaboard; and the latter, in his turn, is nearer to the Catalan than to the man who dwells beside the Channel or along the tributaries of the Rhine. But in essential characteristics, in the qualities that tell in the make-up of a nationality, all these kinds of

Frenchmen feel keenly that they are one and are different from all outsiders, their differences dwindling into insignificance compared with the extraordinary, artifically produced resemblances which bring them together and wall them off from the outside world. The same is true when we compare the German who dwells where the Alpine springs of the Danube and the Rhine interlace, with the physically different German of the Baltic lands. The same is true of Kentishman, Cornishman, and Yorkshireman in England.

In dealing, not with groups of human beings in simple and primitive relations, but with highly complex, highly specialized, civilized or semi-civilized societies, there is need of great caution in drawing analogies with what has occurred in the development of the animal world. Yet even in these cases it is curious to see how some of the phenomena in the growth and disappearance of these complex, artificial groups of human beings resemble what has happened in myriads of instances in the history of life on this planet.

Why do great artificial empires, whose citizens are knit by a bond of speech and culture much more than by a bond of blood, show periods of extraordinary growth, and again of sudden or lingering decay? In some cases we can answer readily enough; in other cases we cannot as yet even guess what the proper answer should be. If in any such case the centrifugal forces overcome the centripetal, the nation will of course fly to pieces, and the reason

for its failure to become a dominant force is patent to every one. The minute that the spirit which finds its healthy development in local self-government, and is the antidote to the dangers of an extreme centralization, develops into mere particularism, into inability to combine effectively for achievement of a common end, then it is hopeless to expect great results. Poland and certain Republics of the Western Hemisphere are the standard examples of failure of this kind; and the United States would have ranked with them, and its name would have become a byword of derision, if the forces of union had not triumphed in the Civil War. So the growth of soft luxury after it has reached a certain point becomes a national danger patent to all. Again, it needs but little of the vision of a seer to foretell what must happen in any community if the average woman ceases to become the mother of a family of healthy children, if the average man loses the will and the power to work up to old age and to fight whenever the need arises. If the homely, commonplace virtues die out, if strength of character vanishes in graceful self-indulgence, if the virile qualities atrophy, then the nation has lost what no material prosperity can offset.

But there are plenty of other phenomena wholly or partially inexplicable. It is easy to see why Rome trended downward when great slave-tilled farms spread over what had once been a countryside of peasant proprietors, when greed and luxury and sensuality ate like acids into the fiber of

the upper classes, while the mass of the citizens grew to depend, not upon their own exertions, but upon the State, for their pleasures and their very livelihood. But this does not explain why the forward movement stopped at different times, so far as different matters were concerned; at one time as regards literature, at another time as regards architecture, at another time as regards city-building.

There is nothing mysterious about Rome's dissolution at the time of the barbarian invasions; apart from the impoverishment and depopulation of the Empire, its fall would be quite sufficiently explained by the mere fact that the average citizen had lost the fighting edge—an essential even under a despotism, and therefore far more essential in free, self-governing communities such as those of the English-speaking peoples of to-day. The mystery is rather that out of the chaos and corruption of Roman society during the last days of the oligarchic republic there should have sprung an Empire able to hold things with reasonable steadiness for three or four centuries. But why, for instance, should the higher kinds of literary productiveness have ceased about the beginning of the second century, whereas the following centuries witnessed a great outbreak of energy in the shape of city-building in the provinces, not only in western Europe, but in Africa? We cannot even guess why the springs of one kind of energy dried up while there was yet no cessation of another kind.

Take another and smaller instance, that of Holland. For a period covering a little more than the seventeenth century, Holland, like some of the Italian city states at an earlier period, stood on the dangerous heights of greatness beside nations so vastly her superior in territory and population as to make it inevitable that sooner or later she must fall from the glorious and perilous eminence to which she had been raised by her own indomitable soul. Her fall came; it could not have been indefinitely postponed; but it came far quicker than it needed to come, because of shortcomings on her part to which both Great Britain and the United States would be wise to pay heed. Her government was singularly ineffective, the decentralization being such as often to permit the separatist, the particularist, spirit of the provinces to rob the central authority of all efficiency. This was bad enough. But the fatal weakness was that so common in rich, peace-loving societies, where men hate to think of war as possible, and try to justify their own reluctance to face it either by high-sounding moral platitudes or else by a philosophy of short-sighted materialism. The Dutch were very wealthy. They grew to believe that they could hire others to do their fighting for them on land; and on sea, where they did their own fighting, and fought very well, they refused in time of peace to make ready fleets so efficient as either to insure the Dutch against the peace being broken or else to give them the victory when war came. To be opulent and unarmed is to

secure ease in the present at the almost certain cost of disaster in the future.

It is therefore easy to see why Holland lost, when she did, her position among the Powers; but it is far more difficult to explain why at the same time there should have come at least a partial loss of position in the world of art and letters. Some spark of divine fire burned itself out in the national soul. As the line of great statesmen, of great warriors, by land and sea, came to an end, so the line of the great Dutch painters ended. The loss of pre-eminence in the schools followed the loss of pre-eminence in camp and in council chamber.

In the little republic of Holland, as in the great empire of Rome, it was not death which came, but transformation. Both Holland and Italy teach us that races that fall may rise again. In Holland, as in the Scandinavian kingdoms of Norway and Sweden, there was, in a sense, no decadence at all. There was nothing analogous to what has befallen so many countries; no lowering of the general standard of well-being, no general loss of vitality, no depopulation. What happened was, first, a flowering time, in which the country's men of action and men of thought gave it a commanding position among the nations of the day; then this period of command passed, and the State revolved in an eddy, aside from the sweep of the mighty current of world life; and yet the people themselves in their internal relations remained substantially unchanged, and in

many fields of endeavor have now recovered themselves and play again a leading part.

In Italy, where history is recorded for a far longer time, the course of affairs was different. When the Roman Empire, that was really Roman, went down in ruin, there followed an interval of centuries when the gloom was almost unrelieved. Every form of luxury and frivolity, of contemptuous repugnance for serious work, of enervating self-indulgence, every form of vice and weakness which we regard as most ominous in the civilization of to-day, had been at work throughout Italy for generations. The nation had lost all patriotism. It had ceased to bring forth fighters or workers, had ceased to bring forth men of mark of any kind, and the remnant of the Italian people cowered in helpless misery among the horse-hoofs of the barbarians as the wild northern bands rode in to take the land for a prey and the cities for a spoil. It was one of the great cataclysms of history, but in the end it was seen that what came had been in part change and growth. It was not all mere destruction. Not only did Rome leave a vast heritage of language, culture, law, ideas, to all the modern world, but the people of Italy kept the old blood as the chief strain in their veins. In a few centuries came a wonderful new birth of Italy. Then for four or five hundred years there was a growth of many little city states which, in their energy both in peace and war, in their fierce, fervent life, in the high quality of their men of arts and letters, and in

their utter inability to combine so as to preserve order among themselves or to repel outside invasion, can not unfairly be compared with classic Greece. Again Italy fell, and the land was ruled by Spaniard or Frenchman or Austrian; and again, in the nineteenth century, there came for the third time a wonderful new birth.

Contrast this persistence of the old type in its old home and in certain lands which it had conquered with its utter disappearance in certain other lands where it was intrusive, but where it at one time seemed as firmly established as in Italy—certainly as in Spain or Gaul. No more curious example of the growth and disappearance of a national type can be found than in the case of the Græco-Roman dominion in western Asia and northern Africa. All told, it extended over nearly a thousand years, from the days of Alexander till after the time of Heraclius. Throughout these lands there yet remain the ruins of innumerable cities which tell how firmly rooted that dominion must once have been. The overshadowing and far-reaching importance of what occurred is sufficiently shown by the familiar fact that the New Testament was written in Greek; while to the early Christians North Africa seemed as much a Latin land as Sicily or the valley of the Po. The intrusive peoples and their culture flourished in the lands for a period twice as long as that which has elapsed since modern history, with the voyage of Columbus, may fairly be said to have begun; and then they

withered like dry grass before the flame of the Arab invasion, and their place knew them no more. They overshadowed the ground; they vanished; and the old types reappeared in their old homes, with beside them a new type, the Arab.

Now, as to all these changes we can at least be sure of the main facts. We know that the Hollander remains in Holland, though the greatness of Holland has passed; we know that the Latin blood remains in Italy, whether to a greater or less extent; and that the Latin culture has died out in the African realm it once won, while it has lasted in Spain and France, and thence has extended itself to continents beyond the ocean. We may not know the causes of the facts, save partially; but the facts themselves we do know. But there are other cases in which we are at present ignorant even of the facts; we do not know what the changes really were, still less the hidden causes and meaning of those changes. Much remains to be found out before we can speak with any certainty as to whether some changes mean the actual dying out or the mere transformation of types. It is, for instance, astonishing how little permanent change in the physical make-up of the people seems to have been worked in Europe by the migrations of the races in historic times. A tall, fair-haired, long-skulled race penetrates to some southern country and establishes a commonwealth. The generations pass. There is no violent revolution, no break in continuity of history, nothing in the written records to indicate

an epoch-making change at any given moment; and yet after a time we find that the old type has reappeared and that the people of the locality do not substantially differ in physical form from the people of other localities that did not suffer such an invasion. Does this mean that gradually the children of the invaders have dwindled and died out; or, as the blood is mixed with the ancient blood, has there been a change, part reversion and part assimilation, to the ancient type in its old surroundings? Do tint of skin, eyes, and hair, shape of skull, and stature, change in the new environment, so as to be like those of the older people who dwelt in this environment? Do the intrusive races, without change of blood, tend, under the pressure of their new surroundings, to change in type so as to resemble the ancient peoples of the land? Or, as the strains mingled, has the new strain dwindled and vanished, from causes as yet obscure? Has the blood of the Lombard practically disappeared from Italy, and of the Visigoth from Spain, or does it still flow in large populations where the old physical type has once more become dominant? Here in England, the long-skulled men of the long barrows, the short-skulled men of the round barrows, have they blended, or has one or the other type actually died out; or are they merged in some older race which they seemingly supplanted, or have they adopted the tongue and civilization of some later race which seemingly destroyed them? We cannot say. We do not know which of the widely

different stocks now speaking Aryan tongues represents in physical characteristics the ancient Aryan type, nor where the type originated, nor how or why it imposed its language on other types, nor how much or how little mixture of blood accompanied the change of tongue.

The phenomena of national growth and decay, both those which can and those which cannot be explained, have been peculiarly in evidence during the four centuries that have gone by since the discovery of America and the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope. These have been the four centuries of by far the most intense and constantly accelerating rapidity of movement and development that the world has yet seen. The movement has covered all the fields of human activity. It has witnessed an altogether unexampled spread of civilized mankind over the world, as well as an altogether unexampled advance in man's dominion over nature; and this, together with a literary and artistic activity to be matched in but one previous epoch. This period of extension and development has been that of one race, the so-called white race, or, to speak more accurately, the group of peoples living in Europe who undoubtedly have a certain kinship of blood, who profess the Christian religion and trace back their culture to Greece and Rome.

The memories of men are short, and it is easy to forget how brief is this period of unquestioned supremacy of the so-called white race. It is but a thing of yesterday. During the thousand years

which went before the opening of this era of European supremacy, the attitude of Asia and Africa, of Hun and Mongol, Turk and Tartar, Arab and Moor, had on the whole been that of successful aggression against Europe. More than a century passed after the voyages of Columbus before the mastery in war began to pass from the Asiatic to the European. During that time Europe produced no generals or conquerors able to stand comparison with Selim and Solyman, Baber and Akbar. Then the European advance gathered momentum, until at the present time peoples of European blood hold dominion over all America and Australia and the islands of the sea, over most of Africa, and the major half of Asia. Much of this world conquest is merely political, and such a conquest is always likely in the long run to vanish. But very much of it represents not a merely political but an ethnic conquest; the intrusive people having either exterminated or driven out the conquered peoples, or else having imposed upon them its tongue, law, culture, and religion, together with a strain of its blood. During this period substantially all of the world achievements worth remembering are to be credited to the people of European descent. The first exception of any consequence is the wonderful rise of Japan within the last generation—a phenomenon unexampled in history, for both in blood and in culture the Japanese line of ancestral descent is as remote as possible from ours, and yet Japan, while hitherto keeping most of what was strongest

in her ancient character and traditions, has assimilated with curious completeness most of the characteristics that have given power and leadership to the West.

During this period of intense and feverish activity among the peoples of European stock, first one and then another has taken the lead. The movement began with Spain and Portugal. Their flowering time was as brief as it was wonderful. The gorgeous pages of their annals are illumined by the figures of warriors, explorers, statesmen, poets, and painters. Then their days of greatness ceased. Many partial explanations can be given, but something remains behind, some hidden force for evil, some hidden source of weakness, upon which we cannot lay our hands. Yet there are many signs that in the New World, after centuries of arrested growth, the peoples of Spanish and Portuguese stock are entering upon another era of development, and there are other signs that this is true also in the Iberian peninsula itself.

About the time that the first brilliant period of the leadership of the Iberian peoples was drawing to a close, at the other end of Europe, in the land of melancholy steppe and melancholy forest, the Slav turned in his troubled sleep and stretched out his hand to grasp leadership and dominion. Since then almost every nation of Europe has at one time or another sought a place in the movement of expansion; but for the last three centuries the great phenomenon of mankind has been the growth of

the English-speaking peoples and their spread over the world's waste spaces.

Comparison is often made between the Empire of Britain and the Empire of Rome. When judged relatively to the effect on all modern civilization, the Empire of Rome is of course the more important, simply because the nations of Europe and their offshoots in other continents trace back their culture either to the earlier Rome by the Tiber or the later Rome by the Bosphorus. The Empire of Rome is the most stupendous fact in lay history; no empire later in time can be compared with it. But this is merely another way of saying that the nearer the source the more important becomes any deflection of the stream's current. Absolutely, comparing the two empires one with the other in point of actual achievement, and disregarding the immensely increased effect on other civilizations which inhered in the older empire because it antedated the younger by a couple of thousand years, there is little to choose between them as regards the wide and abounding interest and importance of their careers.

In the world of antiquity each great empire rose when its predecessor had already crumbled. By the time that Rome loomed large over the horizon of history, there were left for her to contend with only decaying civilizations and raw barbarisms. When she conquered Pyrrhus, she strove against the strength of but one of the many fragments into which Alexander's kingdom had fallen. When she conquered Carthage, she overthrew a foe

against whom for two centuries the single Greek city of Syracuse had contended on equal terms; it was not the Sepoy armies of the Carthaginian plutocracy, but the towering genius of the House of Barca, which rendered the struggle forever memorable. It was the distance and the desert, rather than the Parthian horse-bowman, that set bounds to Rome in the east; and on the north her advance was curbed by the vast reaches of marshy woodland, rather than by the tall barbarians who dwelt therein. During the long generations of her greatness, and until the sword dropped from her withered hand, the Parthian was never a menace of aggression, and the German threatened her but to die.

On the contrary, the great expansion of England has occurred, the great empire of Britain has been achieved, during the centuries that have also seen mighty military nations rise and flourish on the continent of Europe. It is as if Rome, while creating and keeping the empire she won between the days of Scipio and the days of Trajan, had at the same time held her own with the Nineveh of Sargon and Tiglath, the Egypt of Thothmes and Rameses, and the kingdoms of Persia and Macedon in the red flush of their warrior-dawn. The empire of Britain is vaster in space, in population, in wealth, in wide variety of possession, in a history of multiplied and manifold achievement of every kind, than even the glorious empire of Rome. Yet, unlike Rome, Britain has won dominion in every clime, has carried her flag by conquest and settle-

ment, to the uttermost ends of the earth, at the very time that haughty and powerful rivals, in their abounding youth or strong maturity, were eager to set bounds to her greatness, and to tear from her what she had won afar. England has peopled continents with her children, has swayed the destinies of teeming myriads of alien race, has ruled ancient monarchies, and wrested from all comers the right to the world's waste spaces, while at home she has held her own before nations each of military power comparable to Rome's at her zenith.

Rome fell by attack from without, only because the ills within her own borders had grown incurable. What is true of your country, my hearers, is true of my own; while we should be vigilant against foes from without, yet we need never really fear them so long as we safeguard ourselves against the enemies within our own households; and these enemies are our own passions and follies. Free peoples can escape being mastered by others only by being able to master themselves. We Americans, and you people of the British Isles, alike, need ever to keep in mind that, among the many qualities indispensable to the success of a great democracy, and second only to a high and stern sense of duty, of moral obligation, are self-knowledge and self-mastery. You, my hosts, and I may not agree in all our views; some of you would think me a very radical democrat—as, for the matter of that, I am; and my theory of imperialism would probably suit the anti-imperialists as little as it would suit a

certain type of forcible-feeble imperialist. But there are some points on which we must all agree if we think soundly. The precise form of government, democratic or otherwise, is the instrument, the tool, with which we work. It is important to have a good tool. But, even if it is the best possible, it is only a tool. No implement can ever take the place of the guiding intelligence that wields it. A very bad tool will ruin the work of the best craftsman; but a good tool in bad hands is no better. In the last analysis the all-important factor in national greatness is national character.

There are questions which we of the great civilized nations are ever tempted to ask of the future. Is our time of growth drawing to an end? Are we as nations soon to come under the rule of that great law of death which is itself but part of the great law of life? None can tell. Forces that we can see and other forces that are hidden or that can but dimly be apprehended are at work all around us, both for good and for evil. The growth in luxury, in love of ease, in taste for vapid and frivolous excitement, is both evident and unhealthy. The most ominous sign is the diminution in the birth-rate, in the rate of natural increase, now to a larger or lesser degree shared by most of the civilized nations of central and western Europe, of America and Australia; a diminution so great that if it continues for the next century at the rate which has obtained for the last twenty-five years, all the more highly civilized peoples will be stationary or else

have begun to go backward in population, while many of them will have already gone very far backward.

There is much that should give us concern for the future. But there is much also which should give us hope. No man is more apt to be mistaken, than the prophet of evil. After the French Revolution in 1830, Niebuhr hazarded the guess that all civilization was about to go down with a crash, that we were all about to share the fall of third and fourth century Rome—a respectable but painfully overworked comparison. The fears once expressed by the followers of Malthus as to the future of the world have proved groundless as regards the civilized portion of the world; it is strange indeed to look back at Carlyle's prophecies of some seventy years ago, and then think of the teeming life of achievement, the life of conquest of every kind, and of noble effort crowned by success, which has been ours for the two generations since he complained to high Heaven that all the tales had been told and all the songs sung, and that all the deeds really worth doing had been done. I believe with all my heart that a great future remains for us; but whether it does or does not, our duty is not altered. However the battle may go, the soldier worthy of the name will with utmost vigor do his allotted task, and bear himself as valiantly in defeat as in victory. Come what will, we belong to peoples who have not yielded to the craven fear of being great. In the ages that have gone by, the great nations, the

nations that have expanded and that have played a mighty part in the world, have in the end grown old and weakened and vanished; but so have the nations whose only thought was to avoid all danger, all effort, who would risk nothing, and who therefore gained nothing. In the end the same fate may overwhelm all alike; but the memory of the one type perishes with it, while the other leaves its mark deep on the history of all the future of mankind.

A nation that seemingly dies may be born again; and even though in the physical sense it die utterly, it may yet hand down a history of heroic achievement, and for all time to come may profoundly influence the nations that arise in its place by the impress of what it has done. Best of all is it to do our part well, and at the same time to see our blood live young and vital in men and women fit to take up the task as we lay it down; for so shall our seed inherit the earth. But if this, which is best, is denied us, then at least it is ours to remember that if we choose we can be torch-bearers, as our fathers were before us. The torch has been handed on from nation to nation, from civilization to civilization, throughout all recorded time, from the dim years before history dawned, down to the blazing splendor of this teeming century of ours. It dropped from the hand of the coward and the sluggard, of the man wrapped in luxury or love of ease, the man whose soul was eaten away by self-indulgence; it has been kept alight only by those who were mighty of heart and cunning of hand.

What they worked at, providing it was worth doing at all, was of less matter than how they worked, whether in the realm of the mind or the realm of the body. If their work was good, if what they achieved was of substance, then high success was really theirs.

In the first part of this lecture I drew certain analogies between what had occurred to forms of animal life through the procession of the ages on this planet, and what has occurred and is occurring to the great artificial civilizations which have gradually spread over the world's surface during the thousands of years that have elapsed since cities of temples and palaces first rose beside the Nile and the Euphrates, and the harbors of Minoan Crete bristled with the masts of Ægean craft. But of course the parallel is true only in the roughest and most general way. Moreover, even between the civilizations of to-day and the civilizations of ancient times there are differences so profound that we must be cautious in drawing any conclusions for the present based on what has happened in the past. While freely admitting all of our follies and weaknesses of to-day, it is yet mere perversity to refuse to realize the incredible advance that has been made in ethical standards. I do not believe that there is the slightest necessary connection between any weakening of virile force and this advance in the moral standard, this growth of the sense of obligation to one's neighbor and of reluctance to do that neighbor wrong. We need have scant patience with that

silly cynicism which insists that kindliness of character only accompanies weakness of character. On the contrary, just as in private life many of the men of strongest character are the very men of loftiest and most exalted morality, so I believe that in national life as the ages go by we shall find that the permanent national types will more and more tend towards those in which, while the intellect stands high, character stands higher; in which rugged strength and courage, rugged capacity to resist wrongful aggression by others, will go hand in hand with a lofty scorn of doing wrong to others. This is the type of Timoleon, of Hampden, of Washington and Lincoln. These were as good men, as disinterested and unselfish men, as ever served a State; and they were also as strong men as ever founded or saved a State. Surely such examples prove that there is nothing Utopian in our effort to combine justice and strength in the same nation. The really high civilizations must themselves supply the antidote to the self-indulgence and love of ease which they tend to produce.

Every modern civilized nation has many and terrible problems to solve within its own borders, problems that arise not merely from juxtaposition of poverty and riches, but especially from the self-consciousness of both poverty and riches. Each nation must deal with these matters in its own fashion, and yet the spirit in which the problem is approached must ever be fundamentally the same. It must be a spirit of broad humanity; of

brotherly kindness; of acceptance of responsibility, one for each and each for all; and at the same time a spirit as remote as the poles from every form of weakness and sentimentality. As in war to pardon the coward is to do cruel wrong to the brave man whose life his cowardice jeopardizes, so in civil affairs it is revolting to every principle of justice to give to the lazy, the vicious, or even the feeble and dull-witted, a reward which is really the robbery of what braver, wiser, abler men have earned. The only effective way to help any man is to help him to help himself; and the worst lesson to teach him is that he can be permanently helped at the expense of some one else. True liberty shows itself to best advantage in protecting the rights of others, and especially of minorities. Privilege should not be tolerated because it is to the advantage of a minority, nor yet because it is to the advantage of a majority. No doctrinaire theories of vested rights or freedom of contract can stand in the way of our cutting out abuses from the body politic. Just as little can we afford to follow the doctrinaires of an impossible—and incidentally of a highly undesirable —social revolution which, in destroying individual rights (including property rights) and the family, would destroy the two chief agents in the advance of mankind, and the two chief reasons why either the advance or the preservation of mankind is worth while. It is an evil and a dreadful thing to be callous to sorrow and suffering, and blind to our duty to do all things possible for the betterment of

social conditions. But it is an unspeakably foolish thing to strive for this betterment by means so destructive that they would leave no social conditions to better. In dealing with all these social problems, with the intimate relations of the family, with wealth in private use and business use, with labor, with poverty, the one prime necessity is to remember that, though hardness of heart is a great evil, it is no greater an evil than softness of head.

But in addition to these problems the most intimate and important of all which to a larger or less degree affect all the modern nations somewhat alike, we of the great nations that have expanded, that are now in complicated relations with one another and with alien races, have special problems and special duties of our own. You belong to a nation which possesses the greatest empire upon which the sun has ever shone. I belong to a nation which is trying, on a scale hitherto unexampled, to work out the problems of government for, of, and by the people, while at the same time doing the international duty of a great power. But there are certain problems which both of us have to solve, and as to which our standards should be the same. The Englishman, the man of the British Isles, in his various homes across the seas, and the American, both at home and abroad, are brought into contact with utterly alien peoples, some with a civilization more ancient than our own, others still in, or having but recently arisen from, the barbarism which our people left behind ages ago. The prob-

lems that arise are of well-nigh inconceivable difficulty. They cannot be solved by the foolish sentimentality of stay-at-home people, with little patent recipes, and those cut-and-dried theories of the political nursery which have such limited applicability amid the crash of elemental forces. Neither can they be solved by the raw brutality of the men who, whether at home or on the rough frontier of civilization, adopt might as the only standard of right in dealing with other men, and treat alien races only as subjects for exploitation.

No hard and fast rule can be drawn as applying to all alien races, because they differ from one another far more widely than some of them differ from us. But there are one or two rules which must not be forgotten. In the long run, there can be no justification for one race managing or controlling another unless the management and control are exercised in the interest and for the benefit of that other race. This is what our peoples have in the main done, and must continue in the future in even greater degree to do, in India, Egypt, and the Philippines alike. In the next place, as regards every race, everywhere, at home or abroad, we cannot afford to deviate from the great rule of righteousness which bids us treat each man on his worth as a man. He must not be sentimentally favored because he belongs to a given race; he must not be given immunity in wrongdoing, or permitted to cumber the ground, or given other privileges which would be denied to the

vicious and unfit among ourselves. On the other hand, where he acts in a way which would entitle him to respect and reward if he were of our own stock, he is just as much entitled to that respect and reward if he comes of another stock, even though that other stock produces a much smaller proportion of men of his type than does our own. This has nothing to do with social intermingling, with what is called social equality. It has to do merely with the question of doing to each man and each woman that elementary justice which will permit him or her to gain from life the reward which should always accompany thrift, sobriety, self-control, respect for the rights of others, and hard and intelligent work to a given end. To more than such just treatment no man is entitled, and less than such just treatment no man should receive.

The other type of duty is the international duty, the duty owed by one nation to another. I hold that the laws of morality which should govern individuals in their dealings one with the other are just as binding concerning nations in their dealings one with the other. The application of the moral law must be different in the two cases, because in one case it has, and in the other it has not, the sanction of a civil law with force behind it. The individual can depend for his rights upon the courts, which themselves derive their force from the police power of the State. The nation can depend upon nothing of the kind; and therefore, as things are now, it is the highest duty of the most advanced

and freest peoples to keep themselves in such a state of readiness as to forbid to any barbarism or despotism the hope of arresting the progress of the world by striking down the nations that lead in that progress. It would be foolish indeed to pay heed to the unwise persons who desire disarmament to be begun by the very peoples who, of all others, should not be left helpless before any possible foe. But we must reprobate quite as strongly both the leaders and the peoples who practice, or encourage or condone, aggression and iniquity by the strong at the expense of the weak. We should tolerate lawlessness and wickedness neither by the weak nor by the strong; and both weak and strong we should in return treat with scrupulous fairness. The foreign policy of a great and self-respecting country should be conducted on exactly the same plane of honor, of insistence upon one's own rights and of respect for the rights of others, as when a brave and honorable man is dealing with his fellows. Permit me to support this statement out of my own experience. For nearly eight years I was the head of a great nation and charged especially with the conduct of its foreign policy; and during those years I took no action with reference to any other people on the face of the earth that I would not have felt justified in taking as an individual in dealing with other individuals.

I believe that we of the great civilized nations of to-day have a right to feel that long careers of achievement lie before our several countries. To

each of us is vouchsafed the honorable privilege of doing his part, however small, in that work. Let us strive hardily for success, even if by so doing we risk failure, spurning the poorer souls of small endeavor who know neither failure nor success. Let us hope that our own blood shall continue in the land, that our children and children's children to endless generations shall arise to take our places and play a mighty and dominant part in the world. But whether this be denied or granted by the years we shall not see, let at least the satisfaction be ours that we have carried onward the lighted torch in our own day and generation. If we do this, then, as our eyes close, and we go out into the darkness, and other hands grasp the torch, at least we can say that our part has been borne well and valiantly.

REPORT FROM COL. ROOSEVELT

AS DIRECTOR OF SMITHSONIAN EXPEDITION—FRUITS OF TRIP TO AFRICA—HE TELLS WHAT WAS ACCOMPLISHED BY THE VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE EXPEDITION, SHOWING THAT, ALL TOLD, ABOUT 11,397 SPECIMENS WERE PREPARED.

Washington, April 6.

"The collection of African specimens made by the Roosevelt party," said Mr. Mann, of Illinois, in presenting to the House to-day a letter from the ex-President, making a preliminary report to the Smithsonian Institution upon the work of his expedition into the jungle, "undoubtedly is the most complete and valuable collection in the world and it will be of great service to naturalists and scientists."

Khartum, March 15.

To the Hon. Charles Walcott, secretary of the Smithsonian:

Sir: I have the honor to report that the Smithsonian African expedition which was entrusted to my charge, has now completed its work. Full reports will be made later by the three naturalists, Messrs. Mearns, Heller and Loring. I send this preliminary statement to summarize what has been done; the figures given are substantially accurate, but may have to be changed slightly in the final reports.

We landed at Mombasa on April 21, 1909, and reached Khartum on March 14, 1910. On landing we were joined by Messrs. R. J. Cunningham and Leslie J. Tarlton; the former was with us throughout our entire trip, the latter until we left East Africa, and both worked as zealously and efficiently for the success of the expedition as any other member thereof.

We spent eight months in British East Africa. We collected carefully in various portions of the Athi and Kapiti plains, in the Sotik and round Lake Naivasha. Messrs. Mearns and Loring made a thorough biological survey of Mt. Kenia while the rest of the party skirted its western base, went to and up the Guaso Nyero, and later visited the Guas Ngishu region and both sides of the Rift valley. Messrs. Kermit Roosevelt and Tarlton went to the Laikipia Plateau and Lake Hamington, and

Dr. Mearns and Mr. Kermit Roosevelt made separate trips to the coast region near Mombasa. On December 19 the expedition left East Africa, crossed Uganda and went down the White Nile.

North of Wadelai we stopped and spent over three weeks in Lado, and from Gondokoro Mr. Kermit Roosevelt and I again crossed into the Lado, spending eight or ten days in the neighborhood of Rejaf. At Gondokoro we were met by the steamer which the Sirdar, with great courtesy, had put at our disposal. On the way to Khartum we made collections at Lake No and on the Bahr-el-Ghazel and Bar-el-Zeraf. We owe our warmest thanks for the generous courtesy shown us and the aid freely given us not only by the Sirdar, but by all the British officials in East Africa, Uganda and the Sudan and by the Belgian officials in the Lado, and this, of course, means we are also indebted to the home governments of England and Belgium.

On the trip Mr. Heller has prepared 1,020 specimens of mammals, the majority of large size; Mr. Loring has prepared 3,163 and Dr. Mearns 714, a total of 4,897 mammals. Of birds, Dr. Mearns has prepared nearly 3,100, Mr. Loring 899 and Mr. Heller about 50, a total of about 4,000 birds. Of reptiles and batrachians, Messrs. Mearns, Loring and Heller collected about 2,000. Of fishes, about 500 were collected. Dr. Mearns collected marine fishes near Mombasa and fresh water fishes elsewhere in British East Africa, and he and Cunningham collected fishes in the White Nile. This makes

in all of vertebrates: Mammals, 4,897; birds, about 4,000; reptiles and batrachians, about 2,000; fishes, about 500; total, 11,397.

The invertebrates were collected carefully by Dr. Mearns, with some assistance from Messrs. Cunningham and Kermit Roosevelt.

A few marine shells were collected near Mombasa and land and freshwater shells throughout the regions visited, as well as crabs, beetles, millipeda and other invertebrates. Several thousand plants were collected throughout the regions visited by Dr. Mearns, who employed and trained for the work a Wunyamuezi named Makangarri, who soon learned how to make very good specimens and turned out an excellent man in every way.

Anthropological materials were gathered by Dr. Mearns with some assistance from others; a collection was contributed by Major Ross, an American in the government service at Nairobi.

I have the honor to be,

Very truly yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

ON BRITISH IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION, AT THE GUILDHALL, MAY 31, 1910

In the ancient Guildhall on Tuesday, May 31, 1910—in the presence of high officials of the Government and of the city, together with a brilliant audience—Mr. Roosevelt received the ceremonial compliment of a grant of the freedom of London. It was arranged that the distinguished American, in accepting the honor, should deliver a speech. After appropriate references to the death of the late King Edward, and to his own function as special ambassador representing the United States at the funeral, Mr. Roosevelt proceeded to deliver the address which follows, upon British imperial administration, with particular reference to Egypt and other African protectorates. The speech as a whole is a magnificent compliment to the efficiency and usefulness of British rule in regions where the one indispensable thing is the maintenance of order, the protection of helpless people from public and private injustice, and the improvement of the general conditions of life. Mr. Roosevelt was severely criticized in the English press for his temerity in dealing frankly with the situation in Egypt. But the criticisms were justified only by removing certain sentences from their context. The speech as a whole is a sufficient answer to those who would criticize certain of its expressions. Its aim and motive was to strengthen, from the standpoint of the world's welfare and progress, the British policy in Egypt and

the Sudan, and to bid the authorities and the people in England not to falter or to doubt the beneficence of their established methods for insuring peace and prosperity in regions wholly incapable of governing themselves.—THE EDITOR.

I thank you heartily for myself. I thank you still more because I know what you have done is to be taken primarily as a sign of the respect and friendly good-will which, more and more as time goes by, tend to knit together the English-speaking peoples.

I shall not try to make any extended address of mere thanks and still less one of mere eulogy. I prefer to speak—and I know you would prefer to have me speak—on matters of real concern to you as to which I happen at this moment to possess some first-hand knowledge, having recently traversed certain portions of the British Empire under conditions which made me intimately cognizant of their circumstances and needs.

I have just spent nearly a year in Africa. While there I saw four British protectorates. I grew heartily to respect the men I met there—settlers and military and civil officials—and it seems to me that the best acknowledgment I can render you for what you have done for me—the best service that I can render both to you and to them—is very briefly to tell you how I was impressed by some things I saw.

Your men in Africa are doing a great work for your Empire, and they are also doing a great

work for civilization. This fact, and my sympathy for and belief in them, are my reasons for speaking. People at home, whether in Europe or in America, people who live softly, often fail fully to realize what is being done for them by the men who are actually engaged in the pioneer work of civilization abroad.

Of course, in any mass of men there are some who are weak or unworthy, and even those who are good are sure to make occasional mistakes. All of us do, and that is as true of pioneers as of other men. Nevertheless, the great fact in world history during the last century has been the spread of civilization over the world's waste spaces. The work is still going on, and the soldiers, settlers, and civic officials who are actually doing it are, as a whole, entitled to the heartiest respect and the fullest support from their brothers who stay at home.

At the outset there is one point on which I wish to insist with all possible emphasis. Civilized nations that are conquering for civilization savage lands should work together in a spirit of hearty, mutual good-will. I listened with special interest to what Sir Joseph Dimsdale said about peace and good-will among nations. All agree to that in the abstract. Now, let us show by our actions and our words in specific cases that we agree with it in the concrete.

Ill-will between civilized nations is bad enough anywhere, but it is peculiarly hateful and contemptible when those actuated by it are engaged in

the same task—a task of such far-reaching importance to the progress of humanity as the task of subduing the savagery of wild men and wild nature and of bringing abreast of our civilization those lands where there is an old civilization, but where that civilization has gone crooked.

Mankind, as a whole, has been benefited by the noteworthy success that has attended the French occupation of Algiers and Tunis, just as mankind, as a whole, has been benefited by what England has done in India; and each nation should be glad of the other's achievements. In the same way it is of interest to all civilized men that similiar success shall attend alike the Englishman and the German as they work in East Africa. Exactly so it has been of benefit to mankind that America has taken possession of the Philippines.

Those of you who know Lord Cromer's excellent book, in which he compares modern and ancient imperialism, need no words from me to prove that the dominion of modern civilized nations over the dark places of the earth has been fraught with widespread good for mankind, and my plea is that civilized nations engaged in doing this work shall treat one another with respect and friendship and shall hold it as discreditable to promote envy and jealousy by backbiting and antagonism among themselves.

I visited four different British protectorates or possessions in Africa, namely: East Africa, Uganda, the Sudan, and Egypt. About the first three I

have nothing to say save what is pleasant as well as true. About the last I wish to say a few words because they are true, without regard to whether or not they are pleasant.

In the highlands of East Africa you have land which can be made a true white man's country. While there I met many settlers on intimate terms, and felt for them a peculiar sympathy, because they so strikingly reminded me of the men of our own Western frontier in America, of the pioneer farmers and ranchmen who built up the States of the great plains and the Rocky Mountains.

It is of high importance to encourage those settlers in every way, remembering (I say it here in the city) that the prime need is, not for capitalists to exploit the land, but for settlers who shall make their permanent homes there. Capital is a good servant and a mighty poor master. No alien race should be permitted to come into contact with the settlers.

Fortunately you now have in the Governor of East Africa, Sir Percy Girouard, a man admirably fitted to deal wisely and firmly with the many problems before him. He is on the ground and knows the needs of the country, and he is devoted to its interests. All that is necessary is to follow his lead and give him cordial support and backing.

Let me say that the principle on which I acted and on which I think it wise to act in dealing with far-away possessions is to choose your man—change

him when you become discontented with him—while you keep him, back him up.

In Uganda the problem is totally different. Uganda cannot be made a white man's country, and the prime need is to administer the land in the interest of the native races and help forward their development. Uganda has been the scene of an extraordinary development of Christianity. Nowhere else of recent times has missionary effort met such success. The inhabitants stand far above most races in the Dark Continent in their capacity. In their progress toward civilization they have made great strides, and the English officials have shown equal judgment and disinterestedness in the work they have done. They have been especially wise in trying to develop the natives along their own lines instead of seeking to turn them into make-believe Englishmen. In Uganda, therefore, all that is necessary is to go forward on the paths you have already marked out.

The Sudan is peculiarly interesting, because it affords the best possible example—gentlemen, I am accustomed to speak with historic accuracy, and when I say the best possible example I mean it—the best possible example of the wisdom of disregarding the well-meaning but unwise sentimentalists who object to the spread of civilization at the expense of savagery. I remember that a quarter of a century ago, when you were engaged in your struggle with the Sudan, many of your people at home and some of ours said that what

was demanded in the Sudan was complete liberty, independence, and self-government for the Sudanese, coupled with insistence on complete religious toleration and the abolition of the slave trade.

Unfortunately the chief reason—overwhelmingly the chief reason—why the Mahdists wanted independence and self-government was in order that they might pull down all other religions and carry on the slave trade. I do not believe that in the whole world there is to be found any nook of territory which has shown such astonishing progress from the most hideous misery—misery which you cannot conceive of and which in many details I could not state before this audience (there are crimes so dark that they are protected by their very hideousness from relation)—such astonishing progress, I say, from the most hideous misery to well-being and prosperity as that in the Sudan under British rule.

Up to that time it was independent and governed itself, and independence and self-government in the hands of the Sudanese proved to be much what independence and self-government would be in a wolf pack. During the decade and a half that White Mahdism controlled the country there flourished a tyranny which for cruelty, blood-thirstiness, unintelligence, and wanton destructiveness surpassed anything which civilized people can even imagine. The keystones of the Mahdist body were religious intolerance and slavery, with murder and most

abominable cruelty as the methods of sustaining each.

I want your attention to these figures I am going to give you. We have not, of course, absolute statistics, but I am understating. The figures I am giving are less than those that the most competent judges gave me. During those fifteen years at least two-thirds of the population, probably seven or eight millions of people, died by violence or by starvation.

Then the English people came in and put an end to the independence and self-government which had wrought this hideous evil—I am not in the least afraid of using words to express just the thoughts I have—restored order, kept the peace, and gave to each individual a liberty which during the evil days of their own self-government not one human being possessed, save only the blood-stained tyrant who at the moment was ruler.

I stopped at village after village in the Sudan, and in many of them—most of them—was struck by the fact that while there were plenty of children they were all under twelve years of age. Inquiry always elicited that these children were known as Government children, because in the days of Mahdism it was the literal truth in a very large proportion of the communities that every child was either killed or died of starvation and hardship, whereas under the peace brought by English rule families are flourishing, men and women are no longer hunted to death, and children are brought up under more favorable circumstances for soul and body

than ever previously obtained in the entire history of the Sudan.

In administration, in education, in police work, the Sirdar and his lieutenants, great and small, have performed to perfection a task equally important and difficult. The Government officials, military and civil, who are responsible for this task, and the Egyptians and Sudanese who have worked with and as directed by them, have a claim on all civilized mankind which should be heartily acknowledged. It would be a crime not to go on with the work—a work which the inhabitants themselves are helpless to perform, unless under firm and wise outside guidance. I have met people who expressed some doubt as to whether the Sudan would pay. Personally, I think it probably will, but I may add that in my judgment this fact does not alter the duty of the English toward it.

It is not worth while belonging to a big nation unless the big nation is willing when the necessity arises to undertake a big task. I felt about you in the Sudan just as I felt about us in Panama when we acquired the right to build the Panama Canal, and entered on that task. Worthy people came to me and said they wondered whether it would pay. I always answered that it was one of the great world-works which had to be done, that it was our business as a Nation to do it, if we were to make good our claim to be treated as a great world power, and that as we were not willing to abandon that claim no American worth his salt would hesitate

about performing the task. I feel just the same way about you in the Sudan.

Now, as to Egypt. It would not be worth my while to speak at all nor would it be worth your while to listen unless on the condition that I say what I deeply feel ought to be said. I speak as an outsider, but in one way that is an advantage, for I speak without national prejudice. I would not talk to you about your internal affairs here at home, but you are so very busy at home that I am not sure whether you realize just how things are in some places abroad.

At any rate, it cannot hurt you to hear my view. It is the view of one who has actually been on the ground and obtained his information at first hand, one, moreover, who is a sincere well-wisher of the British Empire, but is not English by birth, and is impelled to speak mainly because of his deep concern in the welfare of mankind and the future of civilization. Remember, also, that I who address you am not only an American, but also a radical, a real, not a mock democrat, and that what I have to say is spoken chiefly because I am a democrat—a man who feels that his first thought is bound to be for the welfare of the masses of mankind and his first duty to war against violence, injustice, and wrong-doing wherever found. I advise you only in accordance with the principles on which I myself acted as an American President in dealing with the Philippines and the West India Islands.

In Egypt you are not guardians of your own in-

terest only. You are also guardians of the interests of civilization, and the present condition of affairs in Egypt is a grave menace both to your empire and to civilization. You have given Egypt the best government it has had for at least 2,000 years. The only reason I put in the 2,000 is that I happen not to know the details of the government of the Ptolemies. Probably your government is better than any government Egypt ever had before, for never in history has the poor man in that country, the tiller of the soil, the ordinary laborer, been treated with as much justice and mercy, under a rule as free from corruption and brutality, as during the last twenty-eight years.

Yet recent events, and especially what happened in connection with and following on the assassination of Boutros Pasha several months ago, have shown that in certain vital points you have erred, and it is for you to make good your error.

It has been an error proceeding from the effort to do too much, and not too little, in the interest of the Egyptians themselves; but, unfortunately, it is necessary for all of us who have to do with uncivilized peoples, and especially fanatical peoples, to remember that in such a situation as yours in Egypt weakness, timidity, and sentimentality may cause even more far-reaching harm than violence and injustice. Of all broken reeds, sentimentality is the most broken reed on which righteousness can lean.

In Egypt you have been treating all religions with studied fairness and impartiality. Instead of

gratefully acknowledging this, a noisy section of the native population takes advantage of what your good treatment has done to bring about an anti-foreign movement in which, as events have shown, murder on a large or small scale is expected to play a leading part. Boutros Pasha was the best and most competent native Egyptian official, a steadfast upholder of English rule, and an earnest worker for the welfare of his countrymen, and he was murdered simply and solely because of those facts and because he did his duty wisely, fearlessly, and uprightly.

The attitude of the so-called Egyptian Nationalist Party in connection with the murder has shown that they were neither desirous nor capable of guaranteeing even that primary justice, the failure to supply which makes self-government not merely empty but noxious. The praiseworthy effort made by your officials to help the Egyptians toward self-government is taken advantage of by them, not to make things better, not to help their country, but to try to bring upon the land a chaos in which murder would be one of the principal ingredients. It becomes, therefore, the primary duty of whoever is responsible for the government of Egypt to establish order and take whatever measures are necessary to that end.

It was with this primary object of establishing order that you went into Egypt twenty-eight years ago, and the chief and ample justification for your presence in Egypt was this absolute necessity of order being established from without, coupled with

your ability and willingness to establish it. Now, either you have the right to be in Egypt or you have not. Either it is or is not your duty to establish and keep order. If you feel you have not the right to be in Egypt, if you do not wish to establish and keep order there, why, then, by all means get out.

If, as I hope, you feel that your duty to civilized mankind and your fealty to your own great traditions alike bid you to stay, then make the fact and the name agree; and show that you are ready to meet in every deed the responsibility which is yours.

It is the thing, not the form, which is vital. If the present forms of government in Egypt, established by you in the hope that they would help the Egyptians upward, merely serve to provoke and permit disorder, then it is for you to alter the forms. For, if you stay in Egypt it is your first duty to keep order, and, above all things, also to punish murder and to bring to justice all who directly or indirectly incite others to commit murder or condone crime when it is committed. When a people treats assassination as the cornerstone of self-government it forfeits all right to be treated as worthy of self-government. You are in Egypt for several purposes, and among them one of the greatest is the benefit of the Egyptian people. You saved them from ruin by coming in, and at the present moment, if they are not governed from outside, they will again sink into a welter of chaos. Some nation must govern Egypt. I hope and believe you will decide that it is your duty to continue to be that nation.

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